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FIG. 1—Paris, Louvre: *Echo and Narcissus*, by Poussin

POUSSIN PROBLEMS

By M. ALPATOV

IN the early work of Poussin¹ two distinct principles of pictorial composition are found in combination. The one we may call the representation of objects, the other, the representation of sections of space in which objects play a subordinate rôle.² This distinction is crucial in pictorial analysis not only because it differentiates two opposed outlooks, but also because it helps to characterize every picture in terms of a common factor, namely the relation between the representation and the frame. The first of these principles of composition involves the surrounding of the object with a frame determined by the object, e. g., in Italian painting, the vertical panels with semicircular tops used for saints. The second lets the frame either include arbitrarily whatever objects happen to fall in the artist's field of vision or else cut across them boldly—violating nature, as Manet put it—e. g. Degas' pictures of races with horses partly cut off by the frame. The function of the frame is important in both cases, but different. In the first case its function is to describe and define, to enclose a value by its four golden walls. In the second case the frame is no less important to hold the picture together, but instead of doing this by a kind of contouring it provides a no less functional rhythmic harmony: its four straight sides form an accord with the complicated curved lines of the composition. This is true, for instance, of the pictures by Degas, just mentioned, but one need not hunt in him for all the pyramids and triangles that various critics have tried to describe or sketch in their feverish pursuit of "universal laws of beauty." Now these two principles help to clarify the differing relationships between the object represented and the representation itself. In the first case the contouring produces a remarkable correlation of object represented and representation, for usually the main axis of the object is the same as that of the pictorial composition and top and bottom of the object correspond to top and bottom of the picture. In the second case there is no such uniformity.

The combination of two such contrasting pictorial principles in Poussin's early work gave rise to its peculiarities. These can be seen in the Echo and Narcissus (Fig. 1) of the Louvre, which is now assigned to the first years of his Roman period. The picture, as Paul Jamot says, "*regarde vers l'avenir, vers la glorieuse et seconde*

1. French art of the seventeenth century has not yet been subjected to systematic analysis. It has been handled either in terms of the Italian Baroque or with such concepts of the theoreticians of that period as *clarté, raison*, etc., which are equally applicable (cf. W. Friedländer, *Poussin*, 1914, p. 194) to Italian classicizers like Palladio and require, therefore, further precision. But this precision can result only from an analysis of the art of the time. The ideas developed in this paper form a point of departure for the study of Poussin and, even without maturing into

a monograph on Poussin, serve as an introduction to French classicism. What can be done in the way of analysis of a single picture I have attempted to show in my article, *Das Selbstbildnis Poussins im Louvre* in *Kunstwissenschaftliche Forschungen*, II, Berlin, 1933, pp. 113 ff., which particularizes and supplements some of the material presented here.

2. This dichotomy is practically in line with Nohl's account (*Stil und Weltanschauung*, pp. 24 ff.) of the three kinds of picture construction, but here it is more concretely applied.

carrière dont elle semble l'augure"³ and is thus a good example to take for the study of Poussin's style. The relation between its composition and the frame reveals immediately the combination of the two principles. On the one hand, the reclining figure of Narcissus is the central element of the composition, and the frame corresponds to it, lifting it out of the everyday flux, stabilizing it—the horizontality of the frame agrees with the figure and does not crowd it. On the other hand, the opposed pictorial principle modifies this effect. Narcissus is not alone significant; Echo and Amor are too essential to be mere supernumeraries, and yet not important enough to figure with Narcissus as equivalent members of a group, such as one meets constantly in Holy Families. This contradiction is more apparent because Narcissus is displaced a little downward from the middle of the picture. He is the main figure and at the same time a coulisse behind which stretches the view of the wooded landscape. Note, too, that the healthy, bulky tree, which shades the dead Narcissus, and thus is a unit relating to him, is abruptly cut off and gives to the picture a fractional appearance.

A similar discord appears in connection with the treatment of the third dimension in the picture. Narcissus lies in the foreground so that the minutiae of his body are clearly visible and a vigorous plasticity is obtained. But there is a certain distance between the frame below and him, a depth of which he is the back coulisse; the effect of space here tends to dissolve his corporeality. The result of the conflict is that the body seems to be at a peculiarly indeterminate distance. This is something different from the formal concepts of flatness or relief, which are only quantitatively applicable to the depth in Poussin.⁴ Poussin's objects seem to be placed in an ambiguous region where ordinary ideas of depth and surface are excluded, as, by his combination of the two pictorial principles, the objects present a sharp contradiction of firmly contoured pictorial elements and of fragments included in an accidental section of space.

A similar paradox exists in the anatomy. The first principle, that of contouring, demands special attention to each body. Just as the frame emphasizes by surrounding and holding fast something tangible and significant, so within the picture the bodies and within them the separate members are emphasized in proportion to their significance. This causes an insistence on contours throughout and special stress on those parts of the body regarded as important. Narcissus illustrates all this. As the most important personality he stands out in front of the others. Likewise, in the treatment of his body the significant parts are clearly presented after the manner of the then current literary classicism, which in the description of its heroes named off a regular series of features and members.⁵ Neither light and shade nor complicated foreshortening are allowed to interfere with this clarity. Narcissus is as clearly to be seen as if on an operating table. This suggests the strange ambiguity whether the body or its all-over shape, the rectangle of an operating table, is of primary import

3. P. Jamot, *Études de Poussin*, in *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, 1921, p. 82. I cannot admit the strictures of O. Grautoff, *Poussin*, 1914, vol. I.

4. The emphasis of relief is regarded by Friedländer (*Poussin*, p. 43) as an outstanding characteristic of Poussin.

5. A contemporary description of the duchess of Burgundy says, "elle a.... la plus belle taille...; des yeux vifs et très beaux, les paupières noires...; le teint fort uni; les plus beaux cheveux...; sa bouche fort vermeille..."

in the composition, whether we have the personality or the object of a pictorial operation. The body of Narcissus is a senseless piece of matter, or like a tree, as Descartes puts it in his famous letter to Balzac.⁶ It is possible to see the echo of such a conception in the unrhythmic arrangement of the mantle without regard to the body lines and in the inert disposition of Narcissus' legs. Because of the chance rock the traditional type of reclining figure is distorted, as becomes clear by comparison of the Narcissus with the usual formula for the human body illustrated in the Echo. But as the Narcissus is, nevertheless, the main thing in the picture and is presented as of sensuous value, the picture has the character of recording and preserving an unworthy motif.

We come now to the subject of the painting. Ovid, his favorite poet, was, of course, available to Poussin for such a theme, and it is unlikely that the intermediation of Marino, even granting many points of contact, played much of a part.⁷ But the old myth has been independently treated. Narcissus is shown as a strong, well-built, almost athletic youth and in this respect quite divergent from the pampered and sensual youths of Caravaggio⁸ or from the sickly introspective Narcissus of the modern Symbolistes.⁹ Nor is there any of the melancholy of Marino.¹⁰ Rather, the body gives the impression of a hero fallen, of a victor whose death is being lamented by the girl, and by the little cupid unaware of his complicity. So far, Poussin's treatment of the subject is consonant with the first pictorial principle, to which the emphasis on Narcissus and his surreptitious identification with the picture corresponds. But this hero worship is counteracted in theme as well as in composition. The mighty youth, the champion, lies before us struck down, motionless, helpless, and stiff, like a mere thing ("wooden," Grautoff calls it), without our being able to read the cause of his overthrow in a wound or in paleness of countenance and without our being able to see in the picture any force to which he might have fallen prey. The hero dethroned and powerless, the hero as victim of a supernatural order, the glorification of the absent—therein lies the real sense of this picture. For Narcissus is no longer present; the deity, as in the Hetoimasia, absent; and in memory of Narcissus white flowers spring up from the earth. This part of the conception of the theme is inherently connected with the treatment of the picture as a section of space in accordance with which an independent hero would be impossible, man being also a part of the eternal substance.

What is the further meaning of all this for the piece of painted canvas in a gilded frame that hangs in the Louvre and day in and day out is confronted by thousands of spectators? What particular place does this work of Poussin occupy in a world of similar and dissimilar things? The picture as an enframed unit presents itself to the observer as a physical reality. It opposes to him an axis at right angles to his own. And even within the picture itself he encounters the same opposition. The frame, however, remaining an unpersonified abstract container, contrasts both

6. "Je n'y considere pas autrement les hommes que j'y vois, que je ferais les arbres que se rencontrent en vos forets..." (May 15, 1632).

7. A. Moschetti, *Dell'influsso del Marino sulla formazione artistica di Nicola Poussin*, Rome, 1913.

8. Cf. Caravaggio's Narcissus in the Corsini, Rome.

9. "Mais moi Narcisse aimé, je ne suis curieux
Que de ma seule essence
Tout autre n'a pour moi qu'un cœur mystérieux
Tout autre n'est qu'absence." — P. Valéry.

Cf. R. Fernandat, *P. Valéry*, p. 113 (Narcisse).

10. *Adone*, v. 18.

with the picture within and the observer without, and thus acquires particular significance. The precipitates of the two diverse pictorial principles in the composition have different relations to the spectator. Those of the first principle constitute concrete objects of extraordinary power presenting their exteriors to the spectator, and are thus imbued with a certain static formality. Those of the second appear rather as abstract forms, foreign to him, as independent entities which, nevertheless, permit him to gaze into their interior as into a telescope. The first principle dominates in the figure of Narcissus, though his normal verticality has necessarily become horizontality. In fact, the composition as a whole is so arranged as to turn its façade to the audience. At the same time, it is equally evident that the picture, in accordance with the second principle, is far from concrete reality, shut off from experience. Thus, the conflict of oppositions in it are not those of the everyday world but of the abstract realm within the frame and they exist only with the entry and aid of the spectator, whose participation contributes to them a reasonable clarity.

The two pictorial principles, however, are not juxtaposed mechanically in the picture, nor intentionally put in sharp disagreement with each other for the sake of a dissonance, nor allowed to occasion uncertainties of interpretation. The second principle comprehends and by contrast intensifies the first; it is carried through without destroying the contribution of the first. The two meet in a solution without negating one another. Without anticipating too much my study of the historical development of the picture I may say that the first principle was the earlier while the second later transformed it, and raised it to a higher effectiveness. In this way it has come about that Narcissus is, on the one hand, a perfect hero and, on the other, a tiny particle of infinity. "La petite durée de ma vie absorbée dans l'éternité," Pascal's words, Narcissus might well apply to himself here. Our picture is both a material thing in physical space, and an immaterial, but no less real, entity in the realm of pure imagination, where the immediacy of things gives way to the remoteness of conceptions.

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After this account of the picture as completed it is now time to consider its values in the flux of evolution. Poussin's relation to Italy urgently demands clarification, as the question has hitherto been inadequately met. And the attempt to define the French ingredients of his style in such slippery phrases as "die grazile Schlankheit der Glieder"¹¹ or "die Wiedergabe der individuellen Erlebnisse in der äusseren Bewegung des Körpers"¹² cannot succeed. In Wölfflin's now popular scheme of Renaissance versus Baroque, Poussin does not fit at all, though Puget, Boucher, and even David drop into place. If one tries to find a place for Poussin in terms of Wölfflin's paired concepts one arrives at utter confusion: it becomes necessary in some ways to put Poussin with the Renaissance masters, in others to acknowledge his

11. O. Grautoff, *Die Malerei im Barockzeitalter in Frankreich und Spanien (Handbuch der Kunstwissenschaft)*, p. 267.

12. Friedländer, *Poussin*, p. 194.



FIG. 2—Chantilly, Musée Condé: *Slaughter of the Innocents*, by Poussin



FIG. 3—Rome, Vatican: *Martyrdom of St. Erasmus*



FIG. 4—*Munich, Alte Pinakothek: Lamentation, by Poussin*



FIG. 5—*Madrid, Prado: David, by Poussin*

ranging with certain concepts of the Baroque. Consequently, he gets to be an enormity of heterogeneous parts instead of the real pioneer of modern European painting whom we, following the French painters of the last three centuries, honor in him. N. Pevsner has justly attributed this paradox to the narrowness of our current formal concepts.¹³

It is likely that Poussin's picture was inspired to some degree by Venetian painting, and it is not hard to see a sort of forerunner in Giorgione's *Venus*. By comparison with the Poussin, the Giorgione reveals at once its dependence on the first of our two principles of pictorial composition. The sleeping goddess is the whole picture, and the background landscape expresses this better than a vertical background would have done. We call it simply Giorgione's *Venus* when we mean the whole picture. This implies certain definite relationships between the figure and the picture. Every part of the picture, above and below, right and left, has special sense in terms of the figure. The painting is humanistic not merely in that a human form is its main element but also in that the whole is anthropomorphized: above is, so to speak, the head of the picture, below, the feet; and the disposition of all the parts over the canvas corresponds to this hierarchy of values. It is obviously impossible to express briefly the full complexity of such a composition, and the skill with which Giorgione has placed the reclining figure so that the general hierarchy of values is maintained, the head of Venus playing into the head of the picture and her feet finding their subordinate place below. In consequence of this adjustment, the framing of the figure has unusual importance. Since the body is the dominant element, everything else is used as a kind of shell or container for it; but since the frame is included as part of this shelter, and, along with the drapery spread below the figure and rolling landscape appearing above, forms an envelope, the shuttling from subjective representation to objective picture on the wall is most subtly accomplished. Indeed, this ease of metamorphosis is common in Italian altarpieces but it is likely to pass unappreciated in secular paintings like the *Venus*. After looking at this Giorgione, the other principle, that of the picture as a section of space, is conspicuous in the Poussin. Our comparison of the two pictures reveals that Wölfflin is wrong in thinking their essential difference to be that Giorgione presents a multiplicity and Poussin a unity in the treatment of the body. Rather Giorgione gives each part of the body its meaning and emphasis in terms of the hierarchy mentioned, while Poussin reduces the whole to a homogeneous pictorial section and does away with any preconceived hierarchy of values.

The different composition corresponds to and conditions the different spirit of the two pictures. To make a sleeping, that is, unconscious, figure the principle motif of a picture was somewhat unusual during the Renaissance. Except for the occasional rather negative treatment of such motifs in the Quattrocento, Giorgione appears also in this invention to be ahead of his contemporaries. Even with Giorgione sleep is not a brother of death but an ecstatic condition, and we get the impression that Venus need but open her eyes to return to us from dreamland. Poussin's innovation does not consist in just making a dead body the leitmotiv

13. N. Pevsner, *Die italienische Malerei vom Ende*

der Renaissance bis zum ausgehenden Rokoko, pp. 119 ff.

of his picture—think of Holbein's Christ and of the countless martyrs in Baroque painting—but in vividly presenting, without prejudice to the nobility of Narcissus, death as a sort of absence.

The difference between Poussin and the Cinquecento shows itself again in the case of his Holy Families, although in dealing with this subject he did not forget the Italian precedents, as we know from literary sources. Typical examples are those in the Louvre (Fig. 9) and particularly the one that belongs to the Earl of Yarborough.¹⁴ If analyzed only in terms of Wölfflin's paired concepts they would not differentiate themselves from Cinquecento pictures for they show the flat distribution of the figures over the surface, a plastic and linear treatment of these figures, and several other stylistic principles of the Renaissance. But while the figures are done as in the Renaissance their rôle is different. In such compositions as the Madonnas of Raphael or Fra Bartolommeo, there results in one way or another, through the agreement of the composition with the shape of the picture, a kind of identification of the pictorial representation with the picture as a physical thing; in Poussin's methodically and carefully thought-out *concetto*, on the other hand, this close relationship is broken, the forms do not, repeated in the form of the physical picture, lay claim to a place in physical space but reside merely in that section of pictorial space enclosed by the picture frame. Hence, there is no occasion for a dominating figure, such as was formerly the Madonna as the *Mother of God*, the Joseph as the *pater familias*, or the Christ as the *Soter*, according to the particular preference. Because of this lack, Poussin's religious picture does not strike us as an altarpiece at all.

Another line of comparison that suggests itself is that between Leonardo's Last Supper and the two versions of the subject by Poussin.¹⁵ In spite of all that has been made of Leonardo's perspective and of his supposed intention of increasing the apparent size of the refectory, his figures have the effect of symbols, whereas those of Poussin are conceived as features of the particular section of space in the picture, are freed from subordination to the Christ, and in the later version are relieved to a degree of their very corporeality through their reclining position—which, indeed, Poussin regarded as a more true way of representing the occasion.

In spite of this subsequent independence Poussin had in his youth mastered the Renaissance recipe for turning out easel pictures, as his keen interest in the Venetians and his almost literal transcription of many figures of Titian indicate. To overcome this artistic inheritance he drew from the very first on Mannerism, and later on the Caravaggiesque, with which he became acquainted in Rome. Even the earliest works of Poussin have the air of Mannerism about them. Mannerism provided Poussin the equipment for standing up against the traditional ideas of fabricating easel pictures. Looking at Poussin from the viewpoint of his later development one can see that he was fascinated by the works of Pontormo, Il Rosso, and their followers, because of their escape from the immediate sensuousness of the Renaissance through arbitrary transformations of the old compositions and because of their new abstract treatment of space. Especially Manneristic is Poussin's

14. For illustration see Friedländer, *Poussin*, p. 242.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 210, 218.



FIG. 6—*Paris, Louvre: Diogenes, by Poussin*



FIG. 7—*Paris, Louvre: Pest in Azdod, by Poussin*



FIG. 8—Paris, Louvre: *Self-Portrait*
by Poussin



FIG. 9—Paris, Louvre: *Holy Family*,
by Poussin

Pest in Azdod (Fig. 7). In other respects, however, he could not accept Mannerism because its decorative and ornamental side was too foreign to his nature and his own aims led him in another direction.

A really more important factor in Poussin's development was the Caravaggiesque. Despite Poussin's well known strictures on Caravaggio (which were probably provoked by certain sides of his predecessor, that were always antipathetic to Poussin) this is true and applies not only to individual Caravaggiesque works by Poussin, such as the Endamidas at Copenhagen, but to the entire artistic development of the master. The Caravaggiesque appealed to Poussin because it broke with the Renaissance principle of easel picture making. The importance of the break has not even yet been fully appreciated by critics because they tend to overemphasize the subject matter, the naturalism, of Caravaggio to the point of neglecting all the other aspects of his art. For the moment, the typically Caravaggiesque Bacchus at Frankfurt¹⁶ will serve to illustrate this break and the new Caravaggiesque principle involved, for it offers a convenient parallel to Poussin's Echo and Narcissus. In the Frankfurt picture there is no identification of Bacchus with the picture, for his reclining form is pushed down to the lower edge. That means the frame does not serve him as envelope but he finds his own place within the frame. To this degraded position of his body in the picture corresponds the fact that he is more completely lost in the activity of picking grapes than the Venus in sleep or the Narcissus in death. For the devaluation of the traditional subject matter and of the outworn tricks of easel picture manufacture is more radical here than in Poussin himself, and it is expressed externally in the way the head of the youth is placed lower than his hips or his feet, which carries with it more dethronement of man than in Poussin's works.

Sometimes Poussin is practically one with Caravaggio, but we turn to the real difference between them, which perhaps led to Poussin's unfavorable opinion of the Caravaggiesque. Characteristic of the style of Caravaggio and his school is that the loss of the autonomy of the bodies (or, in Renaissance terms, of their symbolic value, which is a kind of autonomy) is made up for by their increased plasticity within the pictorial space. This effect is achieved first by enlarging the bodies to gigantic size, secondly by shoving them off center against the picture frame, thirdly by emphasizing their volume through the use of "cellar light," and only fourthly by the sensuous effect of a drastic naturalistic transformation of the traditional subject matter. Nevertheless, a picture by Caravaggio remains a kind of stage setting and retains its formality. It turns a façade to the spectator even though by the principle of polarity this façade may be a reverse one, e. g. the back view of horses.¹⁷ Everything in the picture is of value only in proportion to the clarity with which it presents itself to the spectator. In these respects Caravaggio is much closer to what is called Baroque painting than is Poussin, for even in such casually laid-out compositions as Caravaggio's Madonna of the Wreath of Roses in Vienna¹⁸ there is more evident calculation on the spectator than in any Holy Family by Poussin.

16. The Bacchus at Frankfurt is now given to Battistello, but this attribution is not inconsistent with our taking it as typically Caravaggiesque.

17. L. Venturi, *Caravaggio*, 1921, pl. XVI.

18. *Ibid.*, pl. XXII.

Caravaggio has also a broad decorative swing to his surging lines, quite unknown to Poussin, which expresses itself especially in Caravaggio's "realistic" St. Matthew at Berlin.¹⁹

Poussin's particular combination of pictorial principles is not found, either, in the Italian Classicists of the seventeenth century, in such painting as that of Domenichino, early Guido Reni, Sacchi, and, *a fortiori*, Pietro da Cortona. Though in Reni's Atalanta and Hippomenes²⁰ both figures and composition are as completely and clearly classicized as they are in Poussin's Slaughter of the Innocents (Fig. 2) at Chantilly, yet the Italian's painting looks just like a stage scene. Its economy is such that everything is fully developed and exhausted within the limits of the picture and the two figures fully express themselves in the movement of their bodies. The picture lacks, that is, the psychical calculation and circumspection that gives Poussin's work its unique stamp.

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It seems to me that Poussin had a particular capacity for drawing consistently from the pursuit of his principles the consequences that bore on his own work. This is, I think, the explanation of the recurrence, in one form or another, of the same problems as in the Echo and Narcissus among most of his early works. This recurrence demonstrates the purposive character of his creative activity. But, at the same time, it must not be denied that external influences and obstacles diverted him frequently from the direct path, into which he would only get around to return after a considerable digression.

The undercurrent of this first period was the idea of death and of epic heroism. Poussin called upon the precedent of Apelles to justify his predilection for such motifs²¹ as these. The two motifs were so closely connected that whenever one made its appearance the other accompanied softly as overtone. The ideas of death and heroism were not conceived abstractly, but always took an unusually pictorial form. Hence, it was not a question of making death heroic at all but of making painting express these ideas in its own language.

The Martyrdom of St. Erasmus (Fig. 3) in the Vatican is obviously a subject determined by the commissioner. Yet, in spite of its being a formal commissioned altarpiece it partakes of the same character as the Echo and Narcissus, which is such an intimate personal expression. Poussin expresses his inmost personality even in the St. Erasmus not only by moderating the gruesomeness of the martyrdom,²² but also by finding in himself a depth of sympathy at the horrible procedure. It is not only a case of moderating but of objectifying the last moments of the saint. While in Baroque altarpieces scenes of martyrdom are given a highly subjective turn by dropping the point of view so low that the onlooker due to his tangible nearness seems to experience everything almost through the eyes of the victim,²³ Poussin endeavors in this picture, as in his Narcissus, to get a certain amount of aesthetic

19. *Ibid.*, pl. X.

20. Boehn, *Guido Reni*, fig. 83.

21. Motif is taken here in the sense of J. Körner,

Erlebnis-Motif-Stoff, in *Festschrift Walzel*, pp. 80-90.

22. Friedländer, *Poussin*, p. 45.

23. E. g. in pictures by such painters as Ribera.

distance. Despite the foreshortening and the diagonal position, all Erasmus' members are very clearly seen, and the whole composition is so laid out that even though the space is so limited not a single one of the figures is cut off by the frame, as they are abundantly in Baroque altarpieces to suggest the effect of an innumerable crowd. Every figure in the picture, including even those of the statues above, is monumentalized by being so enframed; the fortuitous tumult is eternalized. The death of St. Erasmus the Martyr acquires something of the tranquil *ethos* of the Death of Germanicus in the Barberini Gallery, which Poussin painted at the same period and even for the same patron.²⁴ Both pictures are thus akin to our Narcissus.

In the Slaughter of the Innocents (Fig. 2) at Chantilly the woman struggling with a soldier of the proscenium has a very corporeal and almost material effect as if in a picture by some true Caravaggiesque,²⁵ but here again the spatial depth that separates the observer from the scene gives the picture a tranquil objectivity and establishes the aesthetic distance. Characteristic of Poussin, this group like the figure of Narcissus is surrounded by abstract space above and below and on both sides. The point of view of the observer is not so low, not so subjective as with Caravaggio. The suffering of the massacre and the sensuousness of the figures are tempered, and even more so because the objectively cold, almost Quattrocentesque elaboration of the figures in the background draws away part of the spectator's attention. The theatrical horror of the late Italians is supplanted here by an effect of supreme heroic intensity.

It is again the union of the idea of death with that of the heroism residing in death which characterizes such works as the David (Fig. 5) in the Prado.²⁶ David here is not as in the Florentine Quattrocento a bold lad, youthfully awkward, and bloodthirsty as a young lion. Neither is he Caravaggio's athletic champion that steps out of the darkness with his trophy, the head of Goliath, in his hand. Poussin's David sits in the midst of his trophies and weapons as pensively almost as Dürer's Melancholia. The finely reckoned counterpoint of this picture's composition depends on an unusual displacement of the figures so neither David nor the angel crowning him occupies the center of the canvas. Because of its width the picture is as far from any anthropomorphization as its hero is from any sensuous symbolism, against which militates among other things the awkward position of the legs, as in the case of Narcissus.

Closer analogies with the Echo and Narcissus are offered, however, by the Lamentation (Fig. 4) in Munich,²⁷ and Friedländer was right in referring to it in his description of the former. The relationship of the Munich picture does not reside merely in its figure of Christ but rather in the whole presentation of death, which is expressed by the same means as in the Narcissus. Not Holbein nor Rembrandt nor Rubens succeeded in making the dead figure of Christ so inert, so helpless, or death so abysmal and insuperable. Poussin's effect is not to be explained by the

24. *Ibid.*, p. 142.

25. E. g. Cavallino's Liberation of St. Peter (De Rinaldis, *B. Cavallino*, pl. IV).

26. According to Baldinucci the Prado picture is "della prima maniera." To the same group would

belong the closely related Inspiration of the Poet in the Louvre, following P. Jamot's assignment.

27. With this picture belongs a similar composition representing the Death of Adonis in Caen; cf. Friedländer, *Poussin*, p. 127, and Magne, *Poussin*, 1914, p. 32.

naturalistic treatment of the body of Christ nor by the warm sympathy of the surrounding figures; it is due to the conception of the picture, in which the Christ is made to play a rôle no greater in proportion than the little space His body occupies on the canvas. Take a picture of the same subject by any other seventeenth century painter you please and you find that the dead Christ is imbued with a kind of existence as a body in external space, and for that very reason does not appear entirely dead, while Poussin's Christ has nothing beyond the pictorial existence, and can therefore give expression to the completeness and finality of death.²⁸

Poussin does not sacrifice these merits in his later work, as can still be seen during the years 1630 to 1635, when the strict, almost ascetic mood of his early period yields to the genial and glowing charm of Venetian pastoral. One needs only to compare the *Sleeping Venus* in London²⁹ with the *Munich Lamentation*, not so much the two principal figures as the total compositions, to see that the open and somewhat cool atmosphere of the *Lamentation* is perceptible in the Bacchic environment of the *Venus*. *Mutatis mutandis*, what we have said in the one case of the treatment of death can be applied to the Bacchic unconsciousness of drunkenness in the other. Poussin assiduously copied with precision Titian's sleeping Bacchantes, but methodically destroyed their original sensuality by means of their new position in the pictorial composition; he deprives the movement of such figures of the immediacy and force of active gestures and allows, rather, the calculated balance of his early work to dominate the whole. It is at this period that Poussin's color comes the nearest to that of the Venetians. The subsequent academic criticism that he gave no particular attention to color is very clearly shown to be wrong by such pictures. Yet even at this period, when he is most interested in color, he does not interpret color as an inherent quality of objects but uses it, rather, as an aid to clarity: he distributes the contrasting colors with a view to emphasizing the boundaries of bodies.³⁰

Again, in the period in which he painted the Sacraments Poussin pursued the paths he had taken from the first and transformed the traditional religious compositions to accord therewith. A particularly clear example is found in the *Baptism of Christ* in New York,³¹ where Christ does not, as in innumerable other Baptisms, earlier and later, stand in the middle of the composition and thus give it the character of a picture of a saint. The painting, like many others of Poussin's has no central point nor any middle axis. Neither Christ, nor the Baptist, nor any other plastically clear and tangibly expressed unit is the focus of the whole. At the same time, since these figures do not dissolve in the hazy atmosphere, but present themselves as clear plastic bodies, Poussin's depreciation of them has a precise and unique significance. Whether or not it is the expression of Protestantism is a question we must look into later.

Poussin's *Portrait of Himself* (Fig. 8) in the Louvre is painted in the same spirit. This picture, like his *St. Erasmus* (Fig. 3), is representative of those things he was

28. I omit, for the sake of brevity, the discussion of a number of Poussin's other pictures in which similar problems would be found treated in the same spirit.

29. Grautoff, *Die Malerei im Barockzeitalter in*

Frankreich und Spanien, fig. 199; Magne, *op. cit.*, p. 84 (detail).

30. Cf. Heuck, *Die Farbe in der französischen Kunst des siebzehnten Jahrhunderts*, 1929, p. 29.

31. Friedländer, *Poussin*, fig. 227.

obliged to do by his patronage, though in this case only by his general Baroque milieu. Portraits of himself and portraits in general were, as his preserved letters and paintings prove, much less to Poussin's taste than to his contemporaries', hence the artist's portrait in the Louvre is really a kind of exception among his works. Even with this somewhat imposed task, he stuck to the principles already formulated in their main lines as early as the *Narcissus*. In Poussin's portrait he is not presented as representative of a certain social status, as is the case in portraits by Rubens or of the age of Louis XIV. Neither is he presented as an attempted concentration of humanity in one personality, as is the case in Rembrandt's late portraits of himself, where the necessary counterbalance is given by genre accessories such as the nightcap. In Poussin's *Portrait of Himself* the rendering of the aging face with somewhat reddened eyelids reveals a biting realism like that of Corneille in his wonderful portrayal of himself in verse:

Marquise, si mon visage
A quelques traits un peu vieux....³²

and Poussin later said of his portrait that it was more true to life than any other painter's portrait of him. Essentially, even this self-portrait is again conceived in terms of the heroic, however reserved. Poussin presents himself in the full dignity of his profession, without brush and palette indeed (for they would be too ordinary genre), but resting his hand on a book, undoubtedly a theoretical treatise, with the back of an easel picture in the background and another easel picture behind, both standing for the art of painting, the muse of which, rather than Anne Dughet,³³ is to be recognized in the white female head—a plaster cast belonging to his studio properties. Serious and self-conscious, dignified in the highest degree, Poussin is nevertheless presented as subordinate to the higher laws of his art; through this subordination all his finesse is intensified. The formal means employed account for this impressiveness. In the first place, the head is not placed so high as in the other self-portraits we have mentioned, in which, accordingly, there resulted even in the case of bust portraits a certain identification of the subject represented with the picture itself as object: Poussin has placed the head right near the center so that it is surrounded, like his *Narcissus*, by abstract space on all sides and thereby dematerialized. In the second place, the effect of the framed pictures in the background in the composition is very carefully calculated. They are like haloes, though of a directly opposite significance: they serve not to make the face stand out but to block any possibility of its asserting itself. In the third place, the luminous countenance of the muse draws away part of the attention from the main figure, as does the young woman in the *Slaughter of the Innocents* (Fig. 2), which device here again contributes to the objectification of the whole. By its bold repudiation of classicism in self-portraiture Poussin's *Portrait of Himself* anticipates, by ten years, the style of self-portraiture in literature introduced by Mademoiselle and cultivated by La Rochefoucauld.

At the same time Poussin was transforming the older conceptions of easel painting.

32. *Stances*, 1658 (ed. Marty-Laveaux, X, p. 165).

33. Cf. Magne, *Poussin*, 1928, pp. 281-282.

He discarded the Renaissance and Baroque idea that there were two branches of painting equal in rank, mural painting and easel painting; but he did not conceive the latter as quite so intimate as did Rembrandt, with whom the boundaries that separate painting from etching and drawing disappear. For Poussin, more than for his contemporaries, easel painting was the only real art, the only thing that could achieve the aim of real art, and all the rest was mere make-believe which he was obliged to do much against his will, only for the amusement of his patrons; he makes this point of view clear in his letters.³⁴

There are certain characteristics possible in easel painting realized in Poussin's work. In the first place, his pictures are made free of any dependence on a particular location or setting such as frescoes have, and even Renaissance panels (altarpieces like the Sistine Madonna and even portraits like La Gioconda). Thus, his pictures are not valuables, not jewels, as easel pictures were in the Renaissance. Nor are they vehicles of a certain mood or illusion, as are corresponding Dutch pictures, in which the observer allows himself to be carried away and which run, if not materially, at least spiritually, directly into the surrounding world. A picture by Poussin stands, rather, for its own particular vision and point of view: it is not destined for a definite purpose in daily life, such as ornament or worship, and it is not dependent on a particular location (this is true in a wider sense and not merely in the sense that Poussin's pictures had to make the long journey from Italy before reaching their residence). In his letters to Chantelou Poussin gives precise information as to how he would have his works displayed. While Rembrandt recommends in a letter that his Passion Series be exhibited on the walls of the archduke's gallery,³⁵ Poussin's recommendation is to "couvrir" his Sacraments and "les faire voir un à un," and he explains this on psychological grounds, "on s'en lassera moins, car les voyant tous ensemble remplirait les sens trop à un coup." How keen a perception the master had of the autonomous value of the easel picture appears in another passage which is worth quoting, "Quand vous avez reçu le votre [tableau]," he writes Chantelou, "je vous supplie si vous le trouvez bon, de l'orner d'un peu de corniche, car il en a besoin afin qu'en le considerant en toutes ses parties, les rayons de l'œil soient retenus et non point epars au dehors, en recevant les especes des autres objets voisins, qui venant pêle mêle avec les choses depeintes confondent le jour." How well the contemporaries of Poussin appreciated the peculiar character of the easel picture and relished its special flavor, and how far their attitude was from that blasé formality of rapid sight-seeing assumed by the modern transient museum visitor, is evinced by the travel diary of Bernini by Chantelou with passages from which we shall continue our quotations. For the diary shows that even a person so different from Poussin as Bernini could look at Poussin's picture

34. *Lettres de Poussin*, 1929, p. 70: "je n'ai pas le temps pour me donner satisfaction à moi même, soit pour servir un patron ou un ami, étant naturellement empêché par des bagatelles telles que dessins de frontispices de livres ou dessins pour orner les cabinets des cheminées, des couvertures de livres et autres niaiseries." How little Poussin's attitude in this matter was appreciated is shown by a passage in which Chantelou undertakes to explain why Pous-

sin devoted himself to *tableaux de cabinet* (*Journal du voyage du Chev. Bernin en France*, ed. 1885, p. 146): "ayant une facilité d'imagination et fécondité d'esprit fort grande, d'autre part n'ayant point de grandes occasions de galeries de voutes ou tableaux d'églises pour traiter en grand de grand sujets, il avait été réduit à les traiter dans des tableaux de cabinet."

35. Hofstede de Groot, *Urkunden über Rembrandt*, 45.

in the same way as the painter himself. The span of time Bernini devoted to looking at them is prime evidence of this: every time Bernini encounters a picture by Poussin there is a significant entry in the diary, such as, "il le considerait un bon quart d'heure," or, "il a considéré le portrait de Poussin bien longtemps." And of the Sacraments Bernini declares, "que je regarderais six mois sans me lasser." Another place the diary runs, "Il a fait signe de laisser encore ce portrait, et l'a regardé avec une attention très grande; à quelque temps disant une seconde fois de l'ôter, il a demandé de le lui laisser encore." Finally, there is the priceless locus where they exhibit to Bernini all the Sacraments one after another and come at last to the Extreme Unction: "Il l'a regardé debout quelque temps, puis il s'est mis à genoux pour la mieux voir changeant de fois à autre de lunettes et montrant son étonnement sans rien dire."³⁶

Yet, for all this, the easel picture by Poussin is not to be taken as having the quality of a precious object, a gem, like a Renaissance panel, which still inherited this character from the mediaeval altarpiece. In the case of Poussin the picture is to be characterized as a sort of vehicle rather than as a load of things, and this, his point of view toward his pictures, is most clearly revealed by the circumstance that these have objectively no distinct individualities, that is, are almost all of a few standard sizes and shapes,³⁷ so as to give the impression that the picture is merely a permanent screen on which various representations are executed, a window through which various prospects open, the significance not residing in the picture itself so much as in the harmonious proportions which inform, so to speak, these prospects.

The late work of Poussin is like a mountain top that we reach with effort but that at the same time richly rewards us by the splendor and majesty of the view. A new attitude toward nature emerges from these late landscapes with their singular coolness and freshness unmatched in the descriptions of nature by his contemporaries, the romantic writers St. Amant and Theophile. But even this new point of view derives from the principles embryonic in the Echo and Narcissus. In saying this I am not thinking merely of the circumstance that one of the most important works of the late group, the Funeral of Phocion in the Louvre, turns the account by Plutarch to bring it into line with the earlier conception of the death of Narcissus.³⁸ I am thinking also of the clear and somewhat cool distance in which figures and objects appear in these late landscapes and which makes any anthropomorphization in the case of these picture impossible;³⁹ this represents a logical further development of the style of Poussin's early work. He develops gradually an art of introducing figures into the landscape in such a way that they convey the theme of the picture, yet remain little more than supernumeraries.⁴⁰ We need to specify "little more than" for that little more differentiates such pictures as Poussin's St. Matthew at Berlin or his Diogenes (Fig. 6) in the Louvre from the pleasant and naïve pantheism of Claude Lorrain, to whom Poussin's heroic intensity was quite foreign. Indeed, Lorrain's

36. *Journal du voyage du Cav. Bernin*, p. 66.

37. Such as .94 to .97 m. high by 1.20 to 1.30 m. wide, and .85 m. by 1.20 m. (Sacraments).

38. P. Jamot, *Les "Funérailles de Phocion" par Poussin au Musée du Louvre*, in *Gaz. des Beaux-Arts*, 1921, p. 321 (Dec.).

39. Contrary to Friedländer, *Poussin*, p. 96, who reports an anthropomorphization of the landscape.

40. Gerstenberg, *Die ideale Landschaftsmalerei*, p. 115.

pictures do not always escape the danger of becoming merely decorative panels, while Poussin, even in his least concentrated compositions, for example, the Polyphemus and Cacus in Moscow, reveals so forceful a conception of easel painting that the pictures remain distinct and independent visions, calculated, moreover, for a very great intensity of feeling.

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It seems to me that the source of Poussin's ideas lies in the teachings of the stoa which were being revived at this time.⁴¹ The picture of the early period, Echo and Narcissus, which we have discussed as prototypical, corresponds absolutely to the philosophical views of the stoa, and, in general, Poussin's peculiar mode of composition without either center or axis expresses, as far as painting can express, a system of thought, the stoic conception of a world without supernatural grace. Furthermore, the ethos of the stoic philosopher reveals itself in Poussin by the unique way his art makes man heroic. Though man appears as only incidental to a pictorial section of space, man's heroic character is made apparent by the way he maintains himself upright, thanks to his own inner hold on himself, even in a world without grace. Just as this resolution of soul expressed in Poussin's early work corresponds to stoic fortitude, so does the crystalline transparency of his later work correspond to stoic rationalism, for which evil meant really obscurity or ignorance. Within the limits of painting there can hardly be any way of expressing stoic views except that employed in Poussin's work. It is evident that Poussin's passion for the antique (rather than the Baroque) Rome was not accidental. He shared it with his contemporary fellow countrymen Balzac and Corneille. Not accidental, either, was the relationship of his figure style to that of imperial Roman reliefs, of which he copied those on the Arch of Titus.⁴²

The teachings of the stoa affected Poussin as a man no less than as an artist. In his later letters we find purely stoic views expressed over and over again.⁴³ The remarkable thing is that Poussin had the good fortune to maintain his philosophical position both in his own manner of living and in his relations to his time and to his country. Although there is no doubt that he felt intensely and sympathetically the sufferings of his country's civil war and that he never went back on France or repudiated his French origin, still he could not stick it out in Paris more than two years when he returned, and he got away from there at the first opportunity. It needs to be particularly emphasized that there was in Poussin's relation to Italy hardly anything parallel to Dürer's sentimental enthusiasm or to Rubens' eagerness for a wider sphere of activity and influence. Rome was to him what Amsterdam was to Descartes. Rome was a safe refuge where he could, as he puts it, "se mettre à couvert.... pour pouvoir voir la comedie à son aise."⁴⁴ It was also a place where he found himself

41. For the rôle of the stoa in the seventeenth century see F. Strowsky, *Pascal et son temps*, 1907, I, pp. 14 ff.

42. In this connection the discussion of the Roman treatment of space by W. Worringer (*Griechentum und Gotik*, 1928) takes on a special significance.

43. E. g. *Lettres de Poussin*, 1929, pp. 249, 251, and especially 267: "Si vous voulez considerer toutes les choses sans passions elle ne vous reviendront jamais." It should be noted that Poussin signed his works but seldom.

44. Cf. the phrase of Descartes, "bene vixit bene qui latuit," which is a free quotation of Ovid.

isolated, "etranger et sans amis (car en cette ville il ne s'en trouve point)." For Poussin Rome was an atelier, a Parnassus, an ivory tower, without which the French art of the time would be quite inconceivable. His declaration, "je n'ai rien négligé" (which was destined to become a kind of watchword of subsequent eclecticism) is the result of Poussin's courageous recognition of the antithesis between his own personality and traditions. The latter seemed to him to constitute no mere natural inheritance but rather an external world antagonistic to him. At the same time, how much he needed this external impulse to stimulate him to creative activity is proven by the record that he was accustomed to work out his compositions first by modeling the figures in wax and putting drapery on them, after which preparations only was he ready to paint on the canvas. This procedure corresponds to the stoic's need of contact with the thesis of his neighbor in order to form his own.⁴⁵

All these considerations convince me that it is with stoic philosophy that Poussin is to be connected rather than with Protestantism, to which reference has been made in the attempt to elucidate the non-Roman-Catholic character of his series of the Sacraments.⁴⁶ Admittedly, any exact identification of Poussin with stoicism is out of the question. In the first place, Poussin was not a philosopher, but primarily a painter. In the second place, at this period stoicism was no clearly formulated system, no body of dogma with definite rules and adherents. It was only a very broad movement, but still of a sufficiently distinct character to be recognizable as the reaction against that scholarly humanism of the sixteenth century which had so profoundly affected the leading lights of France, such as Montaigne, Malherbe and Charron, and later Corneille and even Descartes. As was perfectly clear at the time to the leader of the stoic reaction, Guillaume du Vair, the author of the famous pamphlet *Reponse d'un bourgeois de Paris*,⁴⁷ stoic views were current not among the landed feudal aristocracy of France, but mostly among the townspeople, and particularly among the so-called *noblesse de robe*, who formed the upper stratum of the bourgeoisie at the time of the rising power of absolutism under Henry IV and Richelieu, on down to the Fronde. Stoic views were most congenial to the natural temperament of this worldly and rationalistic class. Caught between the older feudal aristocracy and the newer absolutistic *noblesse d'épée*, harassed by the legal uncertainty of its position (of which the fate of such a man as Fouquet is eloquent illustration),⁴⁸ and, at the same time, burdened with purely feudal concepts and ideas (such as *honneur*), this class found in the doctrines of the stoa a means of maintaining their mental equilibrium through the difficult times. How deeply stoic views root even in everyday life is to be seen in the biographies of many outstanding Frenchmen of this period; the account of the death of Balzac is a conspicuous illustration. Their philosophical mood explains the enthusiasm of these social circles for the art of Poussin, who seems rather cold to us, and the ready reception he found among the wealthy of the cities, who were to develop into avid collectors of his work.⁴⁹

45. A similar relationship is involved in the metamorphosis of Renaissance models by Poussin.

46. Friedländer, *Poussin*, p. 104.

47. F. Strowsky, *op. cit.*, p. 84; Radouant, *Guillaume du Vair*, pp. 143 ff.

48. C. Normand, *La bourgeoisie française*, 1908, p. 183; see also Normand's whole chapter devoted to *la bourgeoisie financière*.

49. Magne notes that the first important buying of Poussin's work was by rich merchants and finan-

Just as Descartes, though under the stoic inspiration, had not failed to arrive at a new philosophy of his own, so Poussin did not make of his paintings any mere illustrations of the stoic doctrine. Historically viewed, Poussin is to be regarded as Descartes' counterpart, even if he did not become a real Cartesian.⁵⁰ The main factor Poussin shared with Descartes was the employment of an assumption corresponding to a mathematical interpretation of the world. In his painting the master naturally did not pursue the course of mathematical calculation but that of his own special pictorial means of expression.⁵¹ Renaissance painting, with its worship of the beautiful, harmoniously proportioned human body, should be reckoned in this respect a part of the pre-Cartesian systematic Aristotelianism. (One might say Renaissance painting had offered a system of bodies.) On the other hand, the principle of the pictorial section that Poussin formulated so clearly, the assumption of severing a homogeneous, measurable rectangle out of cosmic infinitude, corresponds to the Cartesian mathematical philosophy. For in the case of the pictorial section there automatically arises a kind of invisible network of lines parallel to the edges and forming a grill over the whole picture, in which every object is thus measured off with cold geometric consciousness, and is, so to speak, given its identity in terms of this measuring. Therein lies the basis of Poussin's adjustment to the problem of beauty versus truth. While Kepler's aesthetic conception of the stars' orbits is in agreement with the spirit of the Italian Baroque, Descartes' dictum, "beauty is truth," is reflected more exactly in Poussin's employment of the principle of the pictorial section than by any of the realists. To be sure, Poussin's humanism kept him from following to its extremes the automatism of Descartes. This restraint of Poussin's was an omen of the later dispute between the artistic and the scientific point of view.

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Poussin's place in the intellectual movements of the seventeenth century will appear more clearly if, instead of our regarding his art as one of the reflections of certain ideas and motives current in the arts of the time, we undertake to characterize more precisely these so-called ideas in the particular form in which they actually did reach expression in the various arts. Outstanding is the parallelism between Poussin and Corneille, which has long been emphasized by historians of art in discussing Poussin, as well as by students of Corneille. But no one seems to have attempted to analyze the relationship of the two Frenchmen with a view to differentiating their common intellectual substance from the sundry accidents contingent on its artistic expression.

ciers (Cerisiers, Mauroy, Cotteblanche). "Les grands seigneurs français ne commencèrent à s'intéresser véritablement à la peinture de Poussin que lorsque celui-ci eut gagné l'estime générale" (Magne, *Poussin*, 1928, p. 224).

50. G. Lanson, *Revue de métaphysique*, 1896, p. 535, points out that the influence of Cartesianism can be detected only very tardily in French literature. In speaking of a fundamental relationship between the two men we do not go so far as to believe it necessary to connect with Poussin's visit to Paris (Grautoff, *Die Malerei im Barockzeitalter in Frankreich und*

Spanien, p. 264) his points of contact with Cartesianism, for they appeared long before that.

51. Consequently, the notion of the geometric style held by Olschki, *Deutsche Vierteljahresschrift*, V, 1930, p. 530, seems too narrowly formulated. Our conception does away with the difficulty of Olschki's otherwise inexplicable contrast between Italy, which he says practiced the geometric style not in poetry but in the other arts, and France, which he would have possessing the geometric stylistic forms in poetry but not in the other arts.

There have been, in fact, few cases of artists with fortunes so similar as were those of Poussin and Corneille. They belonged to the same generation, came from the same bourgeois circles of northern France,⁵² and both of them lived away from the court, in favor, it is true, but essentially independent of pension because selling their own works. Moreover, they began similarly by working over creatively old artistic material taken from two closely related sources, Titian and de Castro.

The essential point, however, is that Corneille played the same rôle in the development of the French theater that Poussin played in relation to painting. The historians of literature make the statement that with Corneille was completed the classical development of the European theater, because with him the play was finally transformed entirely from something which in antiquity took place at a certain spot, in the neighborhood of a sanctuary, *an initiation*, into something independent and self-contained, *a presentation*.⁵³ This is exactly correspondent to what Poussin accomplished in evolving the conception of the easel picture so as to let blossom within the picture frame a richness of artistic values analogous to what the French theater might offer on the stage. Again, the students of Corneille state that he made the final escape from that element of pathos inherited from ancient tragedy which had still been dominant in the French theater of the sixteenth century. For, as they put it, Corneille did away with the lyric speeches of the heroes by making the complete action take place on the stage—which really means that the world of the stage became independent and that the boundaries between it and the outer world were firmly established.⁵⁴ To this corresponds the fact that Poussin's figures no longer lay claim to any place in extra-pictorial space (as does, on the contrary, Giorgione's Venus still, let alone ancient sculpture and painting), but belong entirely to the carefully calculated spatiality of their pictorial section—the equivalent of the dramatic action of the stage. Furthermore, the extremely self-contained character of many of Poussin's pictures and their consequent detachment from the observer are diametrically opposed to the Italian theatrical obviousness, but correspond instead to the suppression of the lyric parts and the rise of a wholly reasonable eloquence in the tragedies of Corneille. Corneille's compositional scheme of two interlocking parallel plots (scarcely usable for Racine, but convenient for Corneille because of his clear, surveyable action)⁵⁵ has its analogy in the coolly calculated spatiality of Poussin, who seems in the Slaughter of the Innocents (Fig. 2) at Chantilly to take a peculiar satisfaction in the inclusion of things both near and far in the same act of vision. The significant relationship, therefore, of Corneille's heroes to Poussin's figures is not their external correspondence as actual human types (that is, not that they may in both cases be wilful people, heroes, Romans, etc.); it lies, rather, in the fact that they play similar parts in the economy of the respective artistic organisms created. Corneille clearly defines his characters in terms of their office in the family and in the state, and then their office determines completely what they do. Correspondingly, Poussin

52. Poussin's coming from Les Andelys not far from Rouen, the center of the stoic movement, throws more positive light on his intellectual development than the current obscure reference to the "Norman spirit" of his works.

53. K. Vossler, *Racine*, p. 156, with reference to Aly, *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur*, 1925.

54. G. Lanson, *Corneille*, 1898, pp. 73 ff.

55. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

gives his compositions a clear spatiality in which the figures take their places like chesspieces on a definite square. That this representation of relationships in spatial terms had taken root in other branches of the contemporary arts of France can be demonstrated by a quotation from the *Astrée* of Honoré D'Urfé, which free from the dramatic tension of Corneille, portrayed the pastoral idyl with a cool clarity,⁵⁶ analogous to that of Poussin's pastorals. Diane is speaking:

Enfin, nous avons tellement réussi à nous cacher, Celadon & moi & Lycidas & Phylis, que l'on crut que Celadon m'avait quitté pour s'attacher à Phylis & que j'avais quitté Celadon pour Lycidas. Celadon même crut que j'aimais Lycidas & je crus moi qu'il aimait Phylis; Phylis de son côté pensa que Lycidas m'aimait & Lycidas ne doute point que Phylis n'aimait Celadon.

There was something like this going on, too, in the French language itself: during the reign of Louis XIII the *termes de relation* were augmented to the uttermost,⁵⁷ and there appeared a rigid *consecutio temporum*, giving to every action its fixed order in time (which was now conceived as a kind of integrated spatiality), quite at variance with the flowing and unpredictable rhythm of the sixteenth century sentences.⁵⁸

Many other characteristics of Corneille's poetry could be cited in support of the parallel with Poussin. But it must not be imagined that the relationship is a question of mere formal details, for these have significance only in relation to the artistic whole, and of mere parallel phenomena in related arts, for these have to be used only with the greatest caution. The essential point of relationship between Corneille and Poussin lies in their aesthetics, which rest on a remarkable *principle of coincidence* between the outer rationally demonstrable world-order and the inner economy of the individual, i. e. on a dualistic conception. This dualism does not tend either toward a passionate conflict or toward a reconciliation in a higher unity of the two sequences it involves. The two parties to it are regarded as independent and only accidentally agreeing, like the two clocks equally wound up at the same time to which the occasionalists (Geulincx) of the seventeenth century referred. Consequently, the work of art is with Poussin and Corneille no fixing of events and things fished out of the world's infinite chaos, and no eternalizing of the general orderliness and symbols that it opposes to the chaos of the world. The work of art becomes, rather, the place where these external, boundless forces at a fortunate moment coincide with the particular things and particular wills, and where both parties to the coincidence fully express themselves and can therefore be clearly seen and represented without the work of art's being destroyed thereby. Thus, for these two artists art has taken on a value which need fear no depreciation from life and which, at the same time, represents no refuge (as it does for the modern champions of *l'art pour l'art*). Just as Poussin's pictures do not offer any balm for the body or salve for the soul, and are not intended as ornament to everyday life (as is decorative painting such as murals),

56. V. Klemperer, *Die französische Literatur des XVII-XVIII Jahrhunderts*, in *Handbuch der Literaturwissenschaft*, p. 19.

57. G. Lanson, *L'Art de la prose*, p. 61.

58. K. Vossler, *Frankreichs Kultur im Spiegel seiner Sprachentwicklung*, 2nd ed., p. 315.

so Corneille's tragedies are not meant to call forth the spectator's tears or to drive home a definite moral. According to Poussin's notion the proper aim of art is "delectation," and to this corresponds Corneille's dictum, "la poesie dramatique a pour le seul but le plaisir du spectateur." Their *delectation* and *plaisir* are not, however, to be understood in a narrow hedonistic sense (as the words were taken in the eighteenth century), but are their ways of saying that the work of art can only become effective in real life by completely realizing itself in its own terms.⁵⁹

In this connection should be mentioned Corneille's insistence on historically significant events, that is, on such as permitted the logic of events in interplay with the organically conceived characters to appear clearly in a short section of time (thus, a coincidence in the course of the five acts). Poussin has approximately the same thing in the self-assertion of his enframed, i. e. monumentalized, figures within the pictorial section (thus, also, a coincidence in the one place of the two sequences). In view of these considerations, the double meaning of Poussin's figures becomes clear: they appear as detached fragments and yet, at the same time, as the kernel of the representation. In the case of Corneille a similar ambiguity is observable, reflected particularly in the old dispute about his *Cinna*: for in terms of the number of lines *Cinna* is the hero, while in terms of the climax of the action Augustus is the main character—a situation that was plainly expressed by the original title, *Cinna ou la clemence d'Auguste*.⁶⁰

Coincidence is the fundamental basis and explanation of Corneille's premeditated "mechanism of action" (to adopt Croce's phrase),⁶¹ by which the characters are not overwhelmed—as Greek heroes are by fate—and against which they do not oppose themselves in vain, but with which they are able to identify themselves through the uttermost exertion of will power.⁶² Consequently, they are not made into passionately unadjusted beings (just as Poussin's figures are not immersed in irrational spatiality as are the figures of ancient impressionism); they act in constant consciousness of the rationally demonstrable logic of the action's mechanism. The feeling, meanwhile, that all that takes place on the stage is due to the coincidence of two sequences is kept alive by making everything that happens appear as concurrently thought and enacted. Once in a while Corneille lets something, e. g. the *Cid*'s death, appear as a raw intrusion of violence with all its consequences (Act iv, Scene 5) but this finds no subsequent reinforcement, while other preconceived or premeditated events are fully followed through so that the career of each, carefully weighed in all its potentials, acquires a transparent clarity. How great the importance of these calculated potentials is in Corneille's work is shown by *Cinna*, who, in order to be consistent with preconceived logic and predetermined actuality (and to justify his personality by his heroism), advises the emperor not to set him at liberty, in the determination to compass his own downfall—a remarkable act of futility, as V. Klemperer acutely observes.⁶³ It is only through being able to maintain himself in the

59. Lanson, *Corneille*, p. 62.

60. Spitzweg, *Corneille*, 1905, pp. 158-165.

61. B. Croce, *Ariost, Shakespeare, Corneille* (German ed.), Vienna, 1922, p. 359.

62. Which is not to say that *liberté* is a *nécessité*;

rather should one think of the phrase, "le Roi juste et prudent ne veut que ce qu'il peut," and of Oedipus (Croce, *op. cit.*, p. 390).

63. V. Klemperer, *Vom Cid bis Polyeucte*, in *Romanische Sonderart*, p. 77.

midst of these conflicting forces that man acquires with Corneille the full force of existence. What Corneille had in mind when he compared his own Theodora with a herm finds its closest analogues in Poussin's treating the human figure on the one hand as the kernel of the picture and on the other hand as mere extension, and in Poussin's combining the figure's appearance in space with its presentation, bounded by the frame, on the surface of the picture. The peculiar greatness of the two masters, later hardly approached by their respective followers, lay in the fact that this principle of coincidence of theirs scarcely admitted any cleft between existence and appearance such as is announced already, perhaps, in the agitated passionateness of Racine's heroes. Furthermore, when in the late production of Corneille (*Surena*, 1674) the tension of human activity slackens and gives way to the new lyricism, the characters go astray in mere *non-être*,⁶⁴ and to this transformation corresponds in the late works of Poussin such landscapes as the Diogenes (Fig. 6) and the Funeral of Phocion, in which the figures, no longer Venetian and sensuous, are absorbed in the pure and rationally clarified spatiality.

The reasonableness of their late stylistic development becomes apparent in view of the peculiar relationship of the two masters to the execution of artistic ideas. Just as Poussin had slight skill in execution compared with the Italian academicians, and his coarse, sometimes unpoetic brushwork proved the dominance in his case of conception over execution, Corneille had a notorious inability to recite his own poetry—a circumstance behind which perhaps lurked the thought that a verse preserved its full vitality even in silence, an idea very foreign to the romanticists.⁶⁵

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To round off these observations of ours it remains to inquire whether the results we have reached can be verified in the other arts as well. Unfortunately, French architecture, which ought to be able to furnish valuable indications, has been studied far less than literature from the standpoint of general stylistic principles; hence, its points of contact with our problem cannot be so clearly defined. From what is known, however, it can be seen that French architecture reached the same developmental stages rather tardily. The castles contemporary with Poussin (such as Château Lafitte), with their vertical towers, still have a marked Gothic stamp, and only the townhouses (such as the Hôtel Carnavalet) correspond to Poussin's stage of development. Moreover, a peculiar feature of the architecture is that, despite the classical colonnades, the Gothic method of composition remains distinctly palpable (particularly evident on the façade of St.-Gervais, 1616); and the rationalism of Gothic passes into that of Classicism without the intermediate stage of Renaissance sensuousness—to say nothing of Baroque. In spite of the strangeness of this architectural evolution, which is perhaps to be attributed to external circumstances, the heart of the evolutionary process remains similar to that in painting and in poetry. It can even be affirmed that the very recognition of similar fundamental principles in the case of architecture

64. Lanson, *Corneille*, p. 156.

65. Here, then, we have already foreshadowed

Boileau's "Avant d'écrire...." and Daugier's deprecatory "L'exécution est propre de l'artiste."

contributes to the understanding of the other two arts, because it ultimately becomes apparent that the principles retain their character even under the special circumstances of architecture: in brief, they resolve themselves into a dualism between the treatment of the building as a whole and that of its parts. Windows, for instance, are recognizable, on the one hand, in their odd half-Gothic form, as windows, i. e. as meaningful units—though they may not be so arbitrarily rationalistic as they are sometimes in Gothic buildings with differentiated windows, rosettes and the like. On the other hand, they are so introduced that their *raison d'être* is not their meaning as windows, or their belonging to any particular category of objects, but the rationally reckoned elevation of the whole—e. g. the façade. Thus it is that everything about this architecture seems to hover between the world of sensible actuality and the world of pure contemplation. The building achieves a double effect: first, as mere objectivity, and, second, as preconceived and logically calculated necessity. What is unusual about these structures may be expressed by saying that they do not merely present themselves as actuality but seem also in some way to represent themselves and thus justify themselves. One has the impression this architecture does not really need to be carried out in stone and marble, but that it is complete on paper, or even in the architect's mind.⁶⁶ The character of these buildings reminds one of the reserved heroes of Corneille, whose personalities are conceived and felt at the same time. The expression of power in the castles does not have the old mediaeval crassness of effect, any more than the *dramatis personae* of the Cid have the unmotivated abruptness of action of their old prototypes. Meanwhile, the intimacy of the smaller townhouses of the capital lends a certain elegance to their dignity; and when, finally, in the 1760's an analogous mood extends to landscape architecture, it is possible, without too much exaggeration, to see a kind of parallel of the gardens by Vaux le Vicomte and those at Versailles to the late landscape style of Poussin and the late lyricism of Corneille.

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To study the vicissitudes of Poussin's artistic reputation is to get acquainted with his art from yet another side. It would, however, be unjustified, and probably no great benefit to the fame of the great painter to follow the literary tradition in designating him as the real leader of French art in the seventeenth century. For, apart from the famous and very typical rivalry between the Poussinists and the Rubensists in the second half of the century, the very worshippers of Poussin can scarce be said to have understood him. What they emphasized in his work was not the significant side of his genius, but, rather, what they could extol as providing the authoritative solution for their own artistic problems.

It is evident that the contrast between Poussin and Le Brun is like the contrast between the mood of the Hôtel Rambouillet and the *galanterie* of Versailles or the contrast between Corneille and Racine. Easel painting again yielded to mural painting, and with Le Brun Italian inspiration pours into France again. Clearly, no place was left for the idea of delectation in Poussin's sense and for the peculiar

66. P. Valéry, *Regards sur le monde actuel*, 1931, p. 137, calls it "penser en matériaux."

heroizing that we have been discussing. The situation is plainly expressed, too, by a typical early work of La Fontaine; the *Adonis*, the artistic quality of which has recently again been recognized, and the matter of which is not unlike that of Poussin's *Echo and Narcissus*. But in the refined account of the melancholy Venus mourning for her loved one and in the particularly imaginative verse we can already sense an anticipation of Racine and recognize the space that separates this stylistic phase from that of Poussin.

Nevertheless, the contrast between Poussin and the *siècle de Louis XIV* does fall within a greater unity. For the most essential features of Poussin's conception of painting became the common property of the whole French school and of European painting in general. In order to show that the inheritance from Poussin was not limited merely to themes and formal considerations let it here be pointed out that not only such outspoken Poussinists as David and Ingres, but also Chardin, despite all his relations to Holland, and Degas, despite all his derivations from the Japanese, reemploy Poussin's pictorial composition. Thus it comes about that Chardin's paintings of still life are neither decorative panels, like those of the Flemish, nor sensuous, intimate pictures of mood, like those of the Dutch, but belong in a sphere where every thing reveals itself as conceived and as already existing in a single act of vision; and this is what gives to Chardin's simplest pictorial material such impressive inner force and monumentality. Thus it comes about that in the case of Degas, notwithstanding his "most disorderly" and disjointed compositions, the picture is felt to be an essentially stable unit, and that to a degree not occurring among the Japanese.⁶⁷

67. In this sense, also, Grautoff's comparison of the Muse of Parnassus with the Olympia of Manet

is justified (Grautoff, *Die Malerei im Baroquezeitalter in Frankreich und Spanien*, p. 265.

MEDIAEVAL AESTHETIC

I. Dionysius the Pseudo-Aeropagite, and Ulrich Engelberti of Strassburg

By ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

INTRODUCTION

THE present article is the first of a series in which it is intended to make more readily accessible to modern students of mediaeval art the most important sources for the corresponding aesthetic theory. The mediaeval artist is, much more than an individual, the channel through which the unanimous consciousness of an organic and international community found expression; in the material to be studied will be found the basic assumptions upon which his operation depended. Without a knowledge of these assumptions, which embrace the formal and final causes of the work itself, the student must necessarily be restricted to an investigation of the efficient and material causes, that is, of technique and material; and while a knowledge of these is indispensable for a full understanding of the work in all its accidental aspects, something more is required for judgment and criticism, judgment within the mediaeval definition depending upon comparison of the actual or accidental form of the work with its substantial or essential form as it preëxisted in the mind of the artist; because "similitude is said with respect to the form" (St. Thomas, *Sum. theol.*, I. q. 5, a. 4), and not with respect to any other and external object presumed to have been imitated. It is, however, not merely for the sake of the professed student of mediaeval Christian art that these studies have been undertaken, but also because the Scholastic aesthetic provides for the European student an admirable introduction to that of the East, and because of the intrinsic charm of the material itself. No one who has once appreciated the consistency of the Scholastic theory, the legal finesse of its arguments, or realized all the advantages proper to its precise technical terminology,¹ can ever wish to ignore the patristic texts. Not only is the mediaeval aesthetic of universal application and incomparably clear and satisfying, but also, at the same time that it is about the beautiful, beautiful in itself.

The modern student of "art" may be at first inclined to resent the combination of aesthetic with theology. This, however, belongs to a point of view which did not divide experience into independently self-subsistent compartments; and the student who realizes that he must somehow or other acquaint himself with mediaeval modes of thought and feeling had better accomodate himself to this from the beginning. Theology is itself an art of the highest order, being concerned with the "arrangement of God," and in relation to the mediaeval works of art stands in the position of formal

1. Sanskrit equivalents interpolated here and there are for the sake of Indian readers and may be ignored by those students who wish to study rather a specifically European than a general aesthetic. We

have pointed out elsewhere that the fundamental principles of Oriental and of European Scholastic aesthetic are the same.

cause, in ignorance of which a judgment of the art, otherwise that upon a basis of personal taste, remains impossible.

Mediaeval aesthetic is fundamentally based on the brief treatment of the Beautiful by Dionysius the Pseudo-Areopagite, in the chapter of the *De Divinis Nominibus* entitled *De Pulchro et Bono*. We therefore give in the first place a translation of this short text, made, not from the Greek, but from the Latin version of Johannes Saracenus, which was used by Albertus Magnus in his *Opusculum de Pulchro*,² sometimes attributed to St. Thomas, and by Ulrich of Strassburg in the chapter of his *Summa de Bono* entitled *De Pulchro*, of which the translation forms the main part of the present article. Ulrich Engelberti of Strassburg, who died A. D. 1277, was himself a pupil of Magnus.³ Our translation is made from the Latin text edited and published by Grabmann⁴ from manuscript sources; it adheres rather more closely to the original than does Grabmann's excellent German rendering. The same editor adds an introduction, which is in many respects the best account of mediaeval aesthetic that has yet appeared.⁵ In subsequent articles we propose to present translations of the *Opusculum de Pulchro*, and of St. Thomas' shorter commentary on Dionysius referred to above; and, finally, to present in a logical sequence the most important of St. Thomas' dicta on the subject of beauty and workmanship, together with those of St. Augustine, St. Bonaventura, and others.

Before proceeding to the text of Dionysius and by way of introduction to the whole problem, it seems desirable to cite four passages of St. Thomas in which the Schol-

2. This rather inaccessible text can be consulted in (1) P. A. Uccelli, *Notizie Storico critiche circa un commentario inedito di S. Tommaso d'Aquino sopra il libro di S. Dionigi De Nomi Divini, La Scienza e la Fede*, Serie III, vol. V, Naples, 1869, pp. 338-369, where the authorship is discussed, the discussion being followed by the text, "*De Pulchro et Bono, ex commentario anecdoto Sancti Thomae Aquinatis in librum Sancti Dionysii De Divinis Nominibus cap. IV, lect. V,*" *ibid.* pp. 389-459 and (2) in S. Thomae Aquinatis, *Opuscula Selecta*, vol. IV, opusc. XXXI, *de Pulchro et Bono*, ex. comm. S. Th. Aq. in lib. S. Dionysii *de Divinis Nominibus*, c. IV, lect. V, Paris, n. d.

The shorter commentary on the same text, certainly by St. Thomas, occurs in *Sancti Thomae Aquinatis, Opera Omnia*, Parma, 1864, as opusc. VII, c. IV, lect. V.

3. Cf. M. Grabmann, *Studien über Ulrich von Strassburg. Bilderwissenschaftlichen Lebens und Strebens aus der Schule Alberts des Grossen*, in *Zeit. für kath. Theologie*, 29, 1905, or in *Mittelalterliches Geistesleben*, in *Abh. zur Geschichte der Scholastik und Mystik*, Munich, 1926.

4. M. Grabmann, *Des Ulrich Engelberti von Strassburg, O. P. († 1277) Abhandlung De Pulchro*, in *Sitzb. Bayer. Akad. Wiss., Phil.-Klasse*, 1926, Abh. 5.

5. The following are, beside the works already cited, the chief available works in which an account of Scholastic aesthetic is to be found:

A. Dyroff, *Zur allgemeinen Kunstlehre des hl. Thomas*, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Philosophie des Mittelalters*, Supplementband II, Münster i. W., 1923, pp. 197-219.

M. De Wulf, *Études historiques sur l'esthétique de Saint Thomas d'Aquin*, Louvain, 1896.

J. Maritain, *Art and Scholasticism*, London, 1931.

A. K. Coomaraswamy, *The Transformation of Nature in Art*, Cambridge, 1934 (ch. 2, "Meister Eckhart").

E. De Bruyne, *Bulletin d'Esthétique*, in *Revue Néoscholastique*, August, 1933.

L'Abbé A. Thiéry, *De la Bonté et de la Beauté*, Louvain, 1897.

L. Wencélius, *La Philosophie de l'art chez les Néo-scholastiques de langue française*, in *Études d'histoire et de philosophie pub. par la Faculté de Théologie Protestante de l'Université de Strassburg*, no. 27, Paris, 1932. (A critique of neoscholastic aesthetic, and especially of Maritain.)

J. Huré, *St. Augustin musicien*, Paris, 1924.

K. Svoboda, *L'esthétique de St. Augustin et ses sources*, Paris, 1933.

W. Hoffmann, *Philosophische Interpretation der Augustinusschrift De arte musica*, Marburg, 1931.

Further references will be found in the works listed, especially that of Grabmann.

Amongst these works that of Dyroff is probably the best. Those of Maritain and De Wulf are somewhat tendentious, and that of Maritain seems to me to be tainted by modernism. Further references will be found in these works, nor is it our present intention to attempt a complete bibliography. It may be added that a sound modern and practical application of Scholastic doctrine as to beauty and workmanship will be found in many of the books that have been published by Eric Gill.

astic theory of beauty and art is admirably summarized, reserving further elucidation for later articles. We give these passages from the *Summa Theologica*, first in Latin and secondly in translation:

I, q. 39, a. 8 c: *Ad pulchritudinem tria requiruntur. Primo quidem integritas, sive perfectio; quae enim diminuta sunt, hoc ipso turpia sunt. Et debita proportio, sive consonantia. Et iterum claritas: unde quae habent colorem nitidum, pulchra esse dicuntur.* That is: "Three things are necessary to beauty. First and foremost integration or perfection; for the more anything is broken up into parts, the uglier it is. And due proportion, or harmony. And also illumination; whence things that have a bright color are called beautiful."

I, q. 117, a. 1 c: *Ars imitatur naturam in sua operatione.* That is: "Art in its manner of operation imitates nature." What is meant by "imitation" will be more fully discussed in subsequent articles, but it is desirable to point out that "nature" here does not mean the objective world of empirical experience, our environment, but *natura naturans, creatrix, universalis, Deus*, "that nature to wit which created all others" (St. Augustine, *de Trin.*, XIV, 9), "God as ordainer of the nature of all things, their creator" (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, III, q. 44, a. 2 ad 1). In "Natural things depend on the divine intellect, as do artificial things upon a human intellect" (*ibid.*, I, q. 17, 1 c), the reference of "natural things" is to what we now call "nature," but in mediaeval terms is *natura naturata* as distinguished from *natura naturans*.

II-i, q. 57, a. 5 ad 1: *Bonum artis consideratur.... in ipso artificio, cum ars sit recta ratio factibilium.... Ars.... circa factibilia est.* That is: "The good of art is to be found in the thing itself that is made by art, for art is right reason about things to be made. Art is concerned with the making of things."

II-ii, q. 47, a. 4 ad 2: *Ars ordinatur ad aliquem particularem finem.... habet determinata media per quae pervenitur ad finem.* That is: "Art is both ordered to some particular end, and has fixed means of attaining that end."

DIONYSIUS, *De Divinis Nominibus*, cap. IV, lect. 5

The good is praised by sainted theologians as the beautiful and as beauty; and as delight and the delectable; and by whatever other befitting names are held to imply the beautifying power or the attractive qualities of beauty. The beautiful and beauty are indivisible in their cause, which embraces All in One. In existing things these are divided into "participations" and "participants;"⁶ for we call "beautiful" what participates in beauty; and "beauty" that participation in the beautifying power which is the cause of all that is beautiful in things.

But the super-substantial beautiful is rightly called Beauty absolutely, both because the beautiful that is in existing things according to their several natures is derived from it, and because it is the cause of all things being in harmony (*consonantia*) and of illumination (*claritas*); because, moreover, in the likeness of light it sends forth to everything the beautifying distributions of its own fontal raying; and for that it summons all things to itself. Hence, it is called *kalos* as gathering all things several into one whole, and *pulchrum* as at the same time most beautiful and super-beautiful; ever

6. Skr. *bhakti* and *bhakta*.

existent in one and the same mode, and beautiful in one and the same way; neither created nor destroyed, nor increased nor diminished; nor beautiful in one place or at one time and ugly elsewhere or at another time; nor beautiful in one relation and ugly in another; nor here but not there, as though it might be beautiful for some and not for others; but as being self-accordant with itself and uniform with itself; and always beautiful; and as it were the fount of all beauty; and in itself preëminently possessed of beauty. For in the simple and supernatural nature of all things beautiful all beauty and all that is beautiful have preëxisted uniformly in their cause.

From this (super-) beautiful it is that there are individual beauties in existing things each in its own kind; and because of the beautiful are all alliances and friendships and fellowships, and all are united by the beautiful. And the super-beautiful is the principle of all things as being their efficient cause, and moving all of them, and maintaining all by love of its own Beauty. It is likewise the end of all, as being their final cause, since all things are made for the sake of the beautiful;⁷ and likewise the exemplary cause, since all things are determined by it; and therefore the good and the beautiful are the same; for all things desire the beautiful for every reason, nor is there anything existing that does not participate in the Beautiful and the Good. And we make bold to say that the non-existent also participates in the Beautiful and the Good; for then it is at once truly the Beautiful and the Good when it is praised supersubstantially in God by the subtraction of all attributes.

7. This must not be understood to mean that the artist as such has in view simply to make "something" beautiful, or to "create beauty." The statement of Dionysius refers to the final end from the point of view of the patron (who may be either the artist himself, not as artist but as man, or may be some other man or some organization or society in general), who expects to be pleased as well as served by the object made; for what is *the end in one operation* may itself be ordained to something else as an end (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, II-I, q. 13, a. 4), as for example "to give pleasure when seen, or when apprehended" (*ibid.*, I, q. 5, a. 4 and I, q. 27, a. 1 ad 3); cf. Augustine, *Lib. de Ver. Rel.*, 39, "An iron style is made by the smith on the one hand that we may write with it, and on the other that we may take pleasure in it; and in its kind it is at the same time beautiful and adapted to our use," where "we" refers to man as patron, as in St. Thomas, *Phys.* II, 4, 8, where it is said that "man" is the general end of all things made by art, which are brought into being for his sake. The artist may know that the thing well and truly made (*Skr. sukṛta*) will and must be beautiful within the definition of St. Thomas cited above, but he cannot be said to be working with this beauty in immediate view, because he is always working to a determinate end, while beauty, as being proper to and inevitable in *whatever* is well and truly made, represents an indeterminate end. The same conclusion follows from the consideration that all beauty is formal, and that form is the same thing as species; things are beautiful in their kind, and not indefinitely. Scholastic

philosophy is never tired of pointing out that every rational agent, and the artist in particular, is always working for determinate and singular and not for infinite and vague ends; for example, St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 25, a. 5 c, "the wisdom of the maker is restricted to some definite order;" *ibid.*, I, q. 7, a. 4, "no agent acts aimlessly;" *ibid.*, II-I, q. 1, a. 2 c, "If the agent were not determinate to some particular effect, it would not do one thing rather than another;" *ibid.*, I, q. 45, a. 6 c, "operating by a word conceived in his intellect (*per verbum in intellectu conceptum*) and moved by the direction of his will towards the specific object to be made;" *Phys.* V, 1, 10, affirming again that art is determined to singular ends and is not infinite, and *De Coelo et Mundo*, II, 13, 8, that the intellect is conformed to a universal order only in connection with a particular idea. Cf. Benaventura, *I Sent. d. 25 a. unic. q. 1 fund. 2*, "Every agent acting rationally, not at random, nor under compulsion, foreknows the thing before it is, viz. in a likeness, by which likeness, which is the 'idea' of the thing, the thing is both known and brought into being." What is true of *factibilia* is true in the same way of *agibilia*; a man does not perform a *particular* good deed for the sake of its beauty, for *any* good deed will be beautiful in effect, but he does precisely *that* good deed which the occasion requires, in relation to which occasion some other good deed would be inappropriate (*in-aptum*) and therefore awkward or ugly. In the same way the work of art is always occasional, and if not opportune, is superfluous.

ULRICH ENGELBERTI, *De Pulchro*

Just as the form of anything whatever is its "goodness,"⁸ perfection being desired by whatever is perfectible, so also the beauty of everything is the same as its formal excellence, which as Dionysius says is like a light that shines upon the thing that has

8. With respect to "goodness" (*bonitas*) the reader must bear in mind that good and evil in Scholastic philosophy are not simply moral categories, except in connection with conduct and when so specified; the worthy or moral good (*bonum honestum* or *bonum moris*) being distinguished from the useful (*bonum utile*) and the enjoyable good (*bonum delectabile*). In general, the good is synonymous with being or act as distinguished from non-being or potentiality, and in this universal sense the good is generally defined as that which any creature desires or relishes (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 5, a. 1; q. 48, a. 1; and *passim*, Scholastic philosophy following Aristotle, *Ethic.* I, 1, "The good is that which all desire"). When, for example, it is a matter of the *summum bonum*, which is God, this Good is so called as being man's last end (Skr. *puruṣārtha*, *paramārtha*) and the limit of desire; it is "good," not as virtue is opposed to possible vice ("There," as Eckhart says, "neither vice nor virtue ever entered in"), but as being that which draws all things to itself, by its Beauty.

It is above all in connection with the arts that goodness is not a moral quality. As "Prudence is the undeviating norm of conduct" (*recta ratio agibilium*, *ibid.*, II-1, q. 56, a. 3) so "Art is the undeviating norm of workmanship" (*recta ratio factibilium*).... "The artist (*artifex*) is commendable as such, not for the will with which he does a work, but for the quality of the work" (*ibid.*, q. 57, a. 3); "Art does not presuppose rectitude of the appetite" (*ibid.*, a. 4); "Art does not require of the artist that his act be a good act, but that his work be good.... Wherefore the artist needs art, not that he may lead a good life, but that he may produce a good work of art, and have it in good care" (*ibid.*, a. 5). Those whose interest is in ethics rather than in art should note the converse proposition, "There cannot be a good use without the art" (*ibid.*, II-1, q. 57, a. 3, ad 1), tantamount to Ruskin's "Industry without art is brutality."

As, however, there can be moral sin, so also there can be aesthetic sin. Sin being defined as "a departure from the order to the end," may be of two kinds, arising either in connection with *factibilia* or in connection with *agibilia*, thus: "Firstly, by a departure from the particular end intended by the artist: and this sin will be proper to the art; for instance, if an artist produce a bad thing, while intending to produce something good; or produce something good, while intending to produce something bad. Secondly, by a departure from the general end of human life (Skr. *puruṣārtha*, in its four-fold division): and then he will be said to sin, if he intend to produce a bad work, and does so actually in order that another may be taken in thereby. But this sin is not proper to the artist as such, but as a man. Consequently, for the former sin that

artist is blamed as an artist; while for the latter he is blamed as a man" (*ibid.*, q. 21, a. 2).

It should be added that there can be also a metaphysical sin, as of error, or "heresy," resulting from an infirm act of contemplation (Skr. *śithila samādhi*, or *kheda in dhyāna*). There can, accordingly, be a departure from the order to the end in three ways, (1) in art, as when a man says "I do not know anything about art, but I know what I like," (2) in conduct, as when a man says "I do not know what is right, but I know what I like doing," and (3) in speculation, as when a man says "I do not know what is true, but I know what I like to think."

It is noteworthy that the Scholastic definition of sin as a "departure from the order to the end" is literally identical with that of *Kaṭha Upaniṣad*, II, 11, where he who prefers what he most likes (*preyas*) to what is most beautiful (*rśeyas*) is said to "miss the mark" (*hiyate arthāt*). The primary meaning of *sri* is "radiant light" or "splendor," and the superlative, *śreyas*, without loss of this content, is generally tantamount to "felicity" and *summum bonum*; *śreyas* and *preyas* are thus by no means good and evil simply or in a specifically moralistic sense, but rather the universal as distinguished from any particular good. If, as Dante says, he who would portray a figure cannot do so unless he *be* it, or as we might express it, unless he *lives* it (cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 27, a. 1 ad 2), it is no less certain that he who would (and "Judgment is the perfection of art," *ibid.*, II-2, q. 26, a. 3) appreciate and understand an already completed work, can only do it subject to the same condition, and this means that he must conform his intellect to that of the artist so as to think with his thoughts and see with his eyes. Acts of self-renunciation are required of all those who aspire to "culture," that is, to be other than provincials. It is in this sense that *Wer der Dichter will verstehen, muss im Dichters Lande gehen*. To judge of Romanesque works of art and to communicate them, the critic or professor in this field must become a Romanesque man, and more is needed for this than a sensitivity to Romanesque works of art or knowledge about them; to assert that a professed "materialist" or "atheist" could in this proper sense become a Doctor in mediaeval art would be a contradiction in terms. Humanly speaking, it is no less absurd to contemplate the teaching of the Bible as "literature." No one can "write a fairy tale" who does not believe in fairies and is not acquainted with the laws of faery.

It may be remarked that the very word "understanding," in application to anything whatever, implies to identify our own consciousness with that upon which the thing itself originally depended for its being. For this consciousness is related to the forms conceived in it precisely as *sub-stance* or *sub-positum* to the accidents of which it becomes the

been formed; which also appears inasmuch as matter subject to privation of form is called vile (*turpis*) by philosophers, and desires form in the same way that the ugly (*turpe*) desires what is good and beautiful. So then the beautiful by another name is the "specific," from species or form.⁹ So Augustine (*De Trin.*, VI) says that Hilary

sub-ports, and only this consciousness can be said really to *under-stand* them as they are. Thus, with respect to natural things, no one can be said to have fully understood them, but only to have described them, who would not have made them as they are, had he been their first cause, whether we name that cause "natura naturans" or "God." All understanding in this sense implies a formal endorsement; he who really understands a work of art would have made it as it is and not in any other likeness. Like the original artist, he may be aware of some defect of skill or of the material, but cannot wish that the art by which, that is to say the form to which, the thing was made had been other than it was, without to the same extent denying the artist's very being. He who would have had the form be other than it was, does so not as a judge of art, but as a patron *post factum*; he is judging, not the formal beauty of the artefact, but only its practical value for himself.

In these respects, the importation of the doctrine of *Einfühlung* or empathy into the theory of criticism marks a step in the right direction; but only a right intention, rather than a perfected gesture, so far as Christian and like arts are concerned. For "infeeling" is subject to the same defect here as the word "aesthetic" itself. Christian and like arts are primarily formal and intellectual, or, as sometimes expressed, "immaterial" and "spiritual;" the relation of beauty is primarily to cognition (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 5, a. 4); the artist works "by intellect," which is the same as "by his art" (*ibid.*, I, q. 14, a. 8, q. 16, a. 1 c, q. 39, a. 8, and q. 45, a. 7 c). Note, in this connection, that Scholastic philosophy never speaks of the work (*opus*) as "art;" the "art" always remains in the artist, while the work, as *artificiatum*, is a thing done *by* art, *per artem*. Assuming that the artist is either his own patron working for himself (as typically in the case of the Divine Architect), or freely consents to the final end of the work to be done, conceiving it to be desirable end, it will be true that he is working both *per artem* and *ex voluntate*—"The artist works through the word conceived in his mind, and through the love of his will regarding some object" (*ibid.*, I, q. 45, a. 6 c); that is, as an artist with respect to the formal cause of the thing to be made, and as patron with respect to its final cause. Here we are considering, not what things ought to be made, but the part played by art in their making; and as this is a matter of intellect rather than of will, it is evident that "infeeling" and "aesthetic" are hardly satisfactory terms, and that some such words as "conformation" (Skr. *tadākaratā*) and "apprehension" (Skr. *grahana*) would be preferable. It is true that sympathy or "with-feeling" in the *post factum* patron, or "critic," should follow understanding, as argued above; but to regard the art itself as primarily an expression of the will, is to reverse the natural

order of thought, according to which "will follows the intellect," being, in fact, allured by the formal and intellectual beauty of the thing known.

All this has an important bearing on "archaism" in practice. A thing "is said to be true absolutely, in so far as it is related to the intellect from which it depends," but it "may be related to an intellect either essentially or accidentally" (*ibid.*, I, q. 16, 1 c). This explains why it is that "modern Gothic" seems to be what it really is, "false" and "insincere." For, evidently, Gothic art can be known to the profane architect only accidentally, viz. through the study and measurement of Gothic buildings; however learned he may be, the work can only be a forgery. For as Eckhart says (I, 108), "to be properly expressed, a thing must proceed from within, moved by its form; it must come, not in from without, but out from within," and in the same way St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 14, a. 16 c, speaks of the feasible (*operabile*) as depending, not on a resolution of the thing made into its principles, but on the application of form to material. And since the architect is not a Gothic man, the form is not in him, and the same will hold for the workmen who carry out his designs. A like defect of proper expression is perceived when the sacrificial music of the Church is performed, not as such but by secular choirs, as "music," or when the Bible or the Divina Commedia are taught as "literature." In the same way, whenever the accidents of an alien style are imitated elsewhere, the operation of the artist is vitiated, and we readily detect in this case, not so much a forgery, as a caricature. It will be easily seen that the study of "influences" should be regarded as one of the least important aspects of the history of art, and hybrid arts, as the least important of all arts. We can think one another's thoughts, ideas being independent of time and local position, but we cannot express them for one another, but only in our own way.

9. Cf. St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, II-1, q. 18, a. 2, c, "The primary goodness of a natural thing is derived from its form, which gives it its species," and *ibid.*, I, q. 39, a. 2 c, "Species or beauty has a likeness to the property of the Son," viz. as Exemplar. In general, the form, species, beauty, and perfection or goodness or truth of a thing are coincident and indivisible in it, although not in themselves synonymous in the sense of interchangeable terms.

A very clear grasp of what is meant by "form" (Lat. *forma* = Gk. *eidos*) is absolutely essential for the student of mediaeval aesthetic. In the first place, form as coincident with idea, image, species, similitude, reason, etc., is the purely intellectual and immaterial cause of the thing being what it is as well as the means by which it is known; form in this sense is the "art in the artist," to which he conforms his material, and which remains in him and this holds equally for the Divine Architect and

predicated species in the image as being the occasion of beauty therein; and calls the ugly "deformed," because of its privation of due form. Just because it is present in so far as the formal light shines upon what is formed or proportioned, material beauty subsists in a harmony of proportion, viz. of perfection to perfectible.¹⁰ And therefore Dionysius defines beauty as harmony (*consonantia*) and illumination (*claritas*).

human artist. This exemplary form is called substantial or essential, not as subsisting apart from the intellect on which it depends, but because it is like a being (*ibid.*, I, q. 45, a. 4 ad 4). Scholastic philosophy followed Aristotle (*Metaphys.* IX) rather than Plato, "who held that ideas existed of themselves, and not in the intellect" (*ibid.*, I, q. 15, a. 1 ad 1). Accidents "proper to the form," e. g. that the idea of "man" is that of a biped, are inseparable from the form as it thus subsists in the mind of the artist.

In the second place, over against the essential form or art in the artist as above defined and constituting the exemplary or formal cause of the becoming of the work of art (*artificiatum*, *opus*, that which is made *per artem*, by art) is the accidental or actual form of the work itself, which as materially formed (*materialis efficitur*) is determined not only by the idea or art as formal cause, but also by the efficient and material causes; and inasmuch as these introduce factors which are not essential to the idea nor inevitably annexed to it, the actual form or shape of the work of art is called its accidental form. The artist therefore knows the form essentially, the observer only accidentally, to the extent that he can really identify his point of view with that of the artist on whose intellect the thing made immediately depends.

The distinction between the two senses in which the word "form" is used is very clearly drawn by Bonaventura, *I Sent.*, d. 35, a. unic., q. 2 opp. 1, as follows: "Form is twofold, being either the form that is the perfection of a thing, or the exemplary form. In both cases there is postulated a relation; in the latter case, a relation to the material that is informed, in the former a relation to that (idea) which is actually exemplified."

Scholastic philosophy in general, and when no qualifying adjectives are employed, employs the word "form" in the causal and exemplary sense; modern speech more often in the other sense as equivalent to physical shape, though the older meaning is retained when we speak of a form or mold to which a thing is shaped or trued. It is often impossible to understand just what is meant by "form" as the word is used by contemporary aestheticians.

In the Skr. expression *nāma-rūpa*, when the two terms are contrasted *nāma* is "idea" or exemplary form, *rūpa* is "aspect" or actual form; and yet *nāma* may be used to mean only the name of a thing as it is actually, and *rūpa* may be used to mean species or beauty, when the terms are separately employed and are to be understood according to the context.

10. The material beauty, perfection, or goodness of any thing is here defined by the ratio of essential (substantial) form to accidental (actual) form, which becomes in the case of manufacture the ratio of art in the artist to artefact; in other words, any thing participates in beauty, or is beautiful, to the extent that the intention of the maker has been realized in

it. Similarly, "A thing is said to be perfect if it lacks nothing to the mode of its perfection" (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 14, a. 9 ad 1); or, as we should express it, if it is altogether good of its kind. Natural objects are always beautiful in their several kinds because their maker, *Deus vel Natura naturans*, is infallible; artefacts are beautiful to the extent that the artificer has been able to control his material. Questions of taste or value (what we like or dislike, can or cannot use) are equally irrelevant in either case.

The problem of "truth to nature" as a criterion of judgment in our modern sense does not arise in Christian art. "Truth is primarily in the intellect, and secondly in things accordingly as they are related to the intellect which is their principle" (St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 16, a. 1). Truth in a work of art (*artificiatum*, artefact) is a being well and truly made according to the pattern in the artist's mind, so "a house is said to be true that expresses the likeness of the form in the artist's mind, and words are said to be true in so far as they are signs of truth in the intellect" (*ibid.*). In the same way, a work of art is called "false" when the form of the art is wanting in it, and an artist is said to produce a "false" work, if it falls short of the proper operation of his art (*ibid.*, q. 17, a. 1). In other words, the work of art as such is good or bad of its kind, and cannot be judged in any other way; whether or not we like or have any use for the kind being another matter, irrelevant to any judgment of the art itself.

The problem of "truth to nature" in our sense arises only when a confusion is introduced by an intrusion of the scientific, empirical, and rational point of view. Then the work of art, which is properly a symbol, is interpreted as though it had been a sign, and a resemblance is demanded as between the sign and the thing presumed to be signified or denoted; and we hear it said of "primitive" art that "that was before they knew anything about anatomy." The Scholastic distinction of sign and symbol is made as follows: "Whereas in every other science things are signified by words, this science has the property that the things signified by the words have themselves also a significance" (*ibid.*, I, q. 1, a. 10). By "this science" St. Thomas means, of course, theology; but theology and art are in principle the same, the one employing a verbal, the other a visual imagery to communicate an ideology. The problem of "truth to nature" in our sense, then, arises whenever the habit of attention changes its direction, interest being concentrated upon things as they are in themselves and no longer primarily upon their intelligible aspects; in other words, when there is a shift from the speculative or idealistic to a rational or realistic point of view (the reader should bear in mind that speculative or mirror-knowledge meant originally, and in all traditions, a certain and infallible knowledge, phenomenal things as such being regarded as unintelligible and

Now God is the "one true Light that lighteth every man that cometh into the world" (John, I, 9), and this is by His Nature; which Light, as being the divine manner of understanding, shines upon the ground of his Nature, which ground is predicated of His Nature when we speak of "God" concretely. For thus He dwells in an inaccessible Light; and this ground of the Divine Nature is not merely in harmony with, but altogether the same as His Nature; which has in itself Three Persons coördinate in a marvelous harmony, the Son being the image of the Father and the Holy Ghost the link between them.

Here he says that God is not only perfectly beautiful in Himself, being the limit of beauty, but more than this, that He is the efficient and exemplary and final cause of all created beauty.¹¹ Efficient cause, just as the light of the sun by pouring out and causing light and colors is the maker of all physical beauty; just so the true and primal Light pours out from itself all the formal light, which is the beauty of all things.¹² Exemplary cause, just as physical light is one in kind, which is none the less that of the beauty that is in all colors, which the more light they have the more beautiful they are, and of which the diversity is occasioned by the diversity of the surfaces that receive the light, and the more light lacks, the more are they hideous

merely the occasions of sensory reactions such as animals also have). The shift of interest, which may be described as an extroversion, took place in Europe with the Renaissance; and similarly in Greece, at the end of the fifth century B. C. Nothing of the same kind has ever taken place in Asia.

Thus, it is evident that Christian art cannot be judged by any standards of taste or verisimilitude, but solely as to whether and how far it clearly expresses the ideas that are the formal basis of its whole constitution; nor can we make this judgment in ignorance of the ideas themselves. The same will hold good for archaic, primitive, and Oriental art generally.

11. The fourth of the Aristotelian causes, viz. the material cause, is necessarily omitted here, Christian dogma denying that God operates as the material cause of anything. The Scholastic "primary matter," the "non-existent" of Dionysius, is not the infinite omnipotence (Skr. *aditi*, *śakti*, *mūla-prakṛti*, etc.) of the divine nature, "*natura naturans, creatrix, Deus*," but a potentiality that extends only to the natural forms or possibilities of manifestation (*Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 7, a. 2 ad 3), Dante's *potenza in infime parte, Paradiso*, XXIX, 31-36. It is not the absolute naught of the Divine Darkness, but the relative naught out of which the world was made (*ex nihilo fit*), and in the act of creation takes the place of the "material cause." As such it is remote from God (*ibid.*, I, q. 14, a. 2 ad 3), who is defined as being wholly in act (*ibid.*, I, q. 14, a. 2 c), though it "retains a certain likeness to the divine being" (*ibid.*, I, q. 14, a. 2 ad 3), viz. that "nature by which the Father begets" (*ibid.*, I, q. 41, a. 5); cf. Augustine, *De Trin.*, XIV, 9, "That nature, to wit, which created all others."

If, on the other hand, we consider, not God as distinct from Godhead, but rather the unity of essence and nature in the Supreme Identity of the conjoint principles, it will be proper to say that all causes are

present in Deity, for this nature, viz. *natura naturans, creatrix* (of which the manner of operation is imitated in art, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 117, a. 1 c), is God. Just as the procession of the Son, the Word, "is from a living conjoint principle" (*a principio vivente conjuncto*) and "is properly called generation and nativity" (*ibid.*, I, q. 27, a. 2), and "That by which the Father begets is the divine nature" (*ibid.*, I, q. 41, a. 5), so the human artist works through "a word conceived in his intellect" (*per verbum in intellectu conceptum, ibid.*, I, q. 45, a. 6 c). It is only when, taking the human analogy too literally, we consider the divine procession and creation as temporal events that the divine nature apparently "recedes from" the divine essence, potentiality becoming "means" (Skr. *māyā*) over against "act;" this is the diremption of *Brhadāranyaka Up.*, I, 4, 3 ("He divided the Essence in twain," *dvedhā apātayat*), the flight-apart of Heaven and Earth in *Jaiminiya Up. Brāhmaṇa*, I, 54 (*le vyadhravatām*), as in Genesis I, "God divided the upper from the nether waters." If, then, God be defined as "all act" or "pure act," and as the Divine Architect in operation, the material cause of the things created is not in Him. Just as, in human operation, the material cause is external to the artist, not in him; and inasmuch as the material cause in his case is already to some extent "formed" and not like primary matter altogether informal, tractable, and passive, the material cause both offers a certain resistance to the artist's purpose (Dante's *sorda, Paradiso*, I, 127) and in some measure determines the result; at the same time that in its disposition to the reception of another form it resembles primary matter and lends itself to the intention of the artist, who may be compared to the Divine Architect in so far as he fully controls the material, although never completely.

12. As in *Rg Veda*, V, 81, 2, where the Supernal Sun *viśvā rūpāni prati muñcate*.

and formless; even so the divine light is one nature, that has in itself simply and uniformly whatever beauty is in all created forms, the diversity of which depends on the recipients themselves—from whom also the form is more or less remote in the measure of their unlikeness to the primal intellectual Light, and is obscured; and therefore the beauty of forms does not consist in their diversity, but rather has its cause in the one intellectual Light that is omniform, for the omniform is intelligible by its own nature, and the more purely the form possesses this Light, the more is it beautiful and like the primal Light, so as to be an image of it or imprint of its likeness; and the more it recedes from this nature and is done into matter (*materialis efficitur*) the less it has of beauty and the less like the primal Light. And final cause, for form is desired by whatever is perfectible, as being its perfection,¹³ the nature of which perfection is in the form only by way of likeness to the uncreated Light, likeness to which is beauty in created things; as is evident inasmuch as form is desired and tended towards as being good, and also as being beautiful; and so the divine Beauty in itself, or in any likeness of it, is an end attracting every will. And therefore Cicero in the Book of Offices [*De Inven. Rhet.*, II, 158], identified the beautiful with the worthy (*honestum*) when he said that "The beautiful is that which draws us by its power and allures by its sweetness."

Beauty is therefore really the same as goodness, as Dionysius says, as being the very form of the thing; but beauty and goodness differ logically, form as perfection being the "goodness" of the thing, while form as possessing in itself the formal and intellectual light, and shining on the material, or on anything that being apt to the reception of form is in this sense material, is "beauty." So as John, I, 4, says, "All things were in God Life and Light." Life, because as being perfections, they bestow fullness of being; and Light, because being diffused in what is formed, they beautify it. So that in this way all that is beautiful is good. Whence if there be anything good that is not beautiful, many sensually delightful things being for example ugly (*turpia*),¹⁴ this depends upon the lack of some specific goodness in them; and conversely, when anything beautiful is said to be otherwise than good, as in Proverbs, at the end [XXXI, 30], "Favor is deceitful, and beauty vain," this is in so far as it becomes the occasion of sin.¹⁵

13. No "personification" of the thing is implied, "desires" being equivalent to "needs." When we say that a thing "wants" or "needs" something to be perfect, this is as much as to say both that it lacks that something and that it requires that something. A crab, for example, may not be conscious that it has lost a limb, but it is in some sense aware, and it is a kind of will that results in the growth of another limb. Or if we consider an inanimate object, such as a table "wanting" a leg, then the corresponding "will" is attributed to primary matter, "insatiable for form;" in *materia est dispositio ad formam*.

14. As pointed out by Augustine, *De Musica*, VI, 38, some people take pleasure in "deformia," and these the Greeks in the vernacular called σαπροφίλους, or as we should say, perverts, cf. *Bhagavad Gītā*, XVII, 10. Augustine elsewhere (*Lib. de Vera Relig.* 59) points out that while things that please us do so because they are beautiful, the converse, viz. that

things are beautiful because they please us, does not hold.

15. The problem of sinister beauty raised by Proverbs, XXXI, 30, is rather better dealt with in the *Opusculum de Pulchro* (of St. Thomas, or Albertus Magnus), where it is pointed out that the beautiful is never separated from the good when things of the same kind are considered, "for example, the beauty of the body is never separated from the good of the body nor the beauty of the soul from the good of the soul; so that when beauty is thus called vain, what is meant is the beauty of the body from the point of view of the good of the soul." It is nowhere argued that the beauty of the body can be a bad thing in itself; bodily beauty being rather taken as the outward sign of an inward and constitutional well-being or health. That such a beauty and health although a great good in itself may also be called vain from another point of view will be

Now because there are both substantial and accidental forms besides the uncreated Beauty, beauty is twofold, as being either essential or accidental. And each of these beauties is again twofold. For essential beauty is either spiritual, the soul for example an ethereal beauty, or intellectual as in the case of the beauty of an angel; or it is physical, the beauty of material being its nature or natural form. In the same way, accidental form is either spiritual—science, grace and the virtues being the beauty of the soul, and ignorance and sins its deformities—or it is physical, as Augustine, *De Civ. Dei*, XXII, describes it, when he says, "Beauty is the agreement of the parts together with a certain sweetness of color."¹⁶

Because also all that is made by the divine art has a certain species to which it is formed, as Augustine says, *De Trin.*, VI, it follows that the beautiful, like the good, is synonymous with being in the subject, and considered essentially adds to this the aforesaid character of being formal.¹⁷

To enlarge upon what was said above, that beauty requires proportion of material to form, this proportion exists in things as a fourfold harmony (*consonantia*),¹⁸ viz.: (1) in the harmony of predisposition to receive form, (2) in a harmony of mass to natural form—for as the Philosopher [Aristotle], *De Anima*, II, expresses it, "the nature of all composites is their last end and the measure of their size and growth," (3) in the harmony of the number of the parts of the material with the number of the potentialities in the form, which concerns inanimate things, and (4) in the harmony of the parts as measured amongst themselves and according to the whole. Therefore, in such bodies all these things are necessary to perfect and essential beauty. According to the first, a man is of a good bodily habit whose constitution is most like that of Heaven, and he is essentially more beautiful than a melancholy man or one ill-constituted in some other way. According to the second, the Philosopher [Aristotle], *Ethic.*, IV, says that beauty resides in things of full stature¹⁹ and that little things,

apparent to everyone; for example, if a man be so much attached to the well-being of the body that he will not risk his life in a good cause. How little Christian philosophy conceives of natural beauty as something sinister in itself may be seen in Augustine, who says that the beautiful is to be found everywhere and in everything, "for example in a fighting cock" (*De Ordine*, I, 25—he selects the fighting cock as something in a manner despicable from his own point of view), and that this beauty in creatures is the voice of God who made them (*confessio ejus in terra et caelo*, *Enarratio ad Psalmum*, CLXVIII), a point of view that is inseparable also from the concept of the world as a theophany (as in Erigena) and the doctrine of the *vestigium pedis* (as in Bonaventura). On the other hand, to be attached to the forms as they are in themselves is precisely what is meant by "idolatry," and as Eckhart, I, 259, says, "to find nature herself all her forms must be shattered, and the further in the nearer the actual thing;" cf. Jāmī, "shouldst thou fear to drink wine from Form's flagon, thou canst not drain the draught of the Ideal. But yet beware! Be not by Form belated: strive rather with all speed the bridge to traverse."

16. Augustine, *loc. cit.*, *Pulchritudo est partium congruentia cum quadam suavitate coloris*; Cicero,

Tusc. Disp., IV, 31, *Corporis est quaedam apta figura membrorum cum coloris quadam suavitate*.

17. "Formal" is here tantamount to exemplary and imitable; cf. Bonaventura, *Sent.*, I, d. 36, q. 2, a. 2 ad 1, "Idea does not denote essence as such, but essence as being imitable," and St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 15, a. 2, "It is inasmuch as God knows His essence as being imitable by this or that creature, that He knows it as the particular reason and idea of that creature." The "imitable essence" in this sense is the same thing as "nature" ("natura naturans, creatrix, Deus") in the very important passage, *ars imitatur naturam in sua operatione*, *ibid.*, I, q. 117, a. 1.

18. In my *Transformation of Nature in Art*, I interpreted *consonantia* too narrowly, to mean "correspondence of pictorial and formal elements in the work of art," or what Ulrich calls the "proportion of material to form." *Consonantia*, however, includes all that we mean by "order," and it is the requirement of this harmony that underlies all the interest that has been felt in "canons of proportion" (Skr. *tālamāna*).

19. *In magno corpore*, lit. "in a large body." Whatever Aristotle may have intended, Scholastic aesthetic by no means asserts that only large things can be beautiful as such. The point is rather that

though they may be elegant and symmetrical, cannot be called beautiful. Whence, we see that elegance and beauty differ qualitatively, for beauty adds to elegance an agreement of the mass with the character of the form, which form does not have the perfection of its virtue unless in a due amount of material. According to the third, whatever lacks any member is not beautiful, but is defective and a deformity, and the more so the nobler is that part as to which there is privation, so that the want of any facial organ is a greater deformity than the want of a hand or finger. According to the fourth, monstrous parts are not perfectly beautiful; if for example the head is disproportionate as being too large or too small in relation to the other members and the mass of the whole body.²⁰ It is rather symmetry (*commensuratio*) that makes things beautiful.

a due size is essential to beauty; if a thing is undersized, it lacks the element of due stature that is proper to the species; whatever is dwarfed may be elegant (*formosus*), but not truly beautiful (*pulcher*) nor fully in being (*esse habens*) nor altogether good (*bonus*), because the idiosyncrasy of the species is not fully realized in it. In the same way, whatever is oversized in its kind cannot be called beautiful; in other words, a definition of beauty as formal implies also "normal."

20. This fourth condition of *consonantia* again asserts the normalcy of beauty: an excess of any single virtue is a fault in nature or art because it detracts from the unity of the whole. All peculiarity, whether liked or disliked, detracts from beauty; for example, a complexion so marvelous as to outshine all other qualities, or whatever dates or marks the particular style of a work of art. Peculiarity, though it may be a certain kind of good, and is inevitable "under the sun," implies a contraction of beauty simply and absolutely; and we recognize this when we speak of certain works of art as "universal," meaning that they have a value always and for all kinds of men. St. Thomas, in comment on Dionysius, *De Div. Nom.* IV, remarks that "the second defect of the [relatively] beautiful is that all creatures have a somewhat particularized beauty, even as they have a particularized nature."

It is to be observed that idiosyncrasy in the work of art is of two kinds, (1) essential, as that of the species, which is determined by the formal and final causes, and (2) accidental, depending on the efficient and material causes. The essential idiosyncrasy, which represents the perfect good of the species, is not a "privation as evil," and can be regarded as a defect only as being a minor beauty when compared to that of the universe as a whole. Accidental idiosyncrasy is not a defect when the accident "is proper to the species," as when the portrait of a colored man is colored accordingly, or the portrait in stone differs from the portrait in metal. Accidental idiosyncrasy due to the material will be a defect only when the effects proper to one material are sought for in another, or if there is a resort to some inferior substitute for the material actually required. Accidental idiosyncrasy due to the efficient cause is represented by "style," that which betrays the hand of the given artist, race, or period: it is because, as Leonardo says, *il pittore pinga se stesso* that it is required that the artist be a sane and normal man, for if not, the

work will embody something of the artist's own defect; and, in the same way, there will be defect in the product if the tools are in bad condition or wrongly chosen or used, the blunt axe, for example, not producing a clean cut. Essential idiosyncrasy due to the final cause is a matter of the patron's commission to the artist (not forgetting that that patron and artist may be the same person), and this will involve defect whenever bad taste imposes on the artist some deviation from the *certas vias operandi* of his art (good taste is simply that taste which finds satisfaction in the proper operation of the artist): there will be defect, for example, if the patron demands in the plan of a house something agreeable to himself in particular but contrary to art (a sound popular judgment is often expressed in such cases by calling a building so and so's "folly"), or if he demands an effigy of himself that shall represent him not merely as a functioning type (e. g., as knight, doctor, or engineer), but as an individual and a personality to be flattered.

Individual expression, the trace of good or evil passions, is the same thing as characteristic expression; the psychological novel or painting is concerned with "character" in this sense, the epic only with *types* of character. What affects us in monumental art, whatever its immediate subject, is nothing particular or individual, but only the power of a numinous *presence*. The facts of mediaeval art agree with the thesis. In Byzantine art and before the end of the thirteenth century, as well as in "early" art generally, the peculiarity of the individual artist eludes the student; the work invariably shows "respect for the material," which is used appropriately; and it is not until after the thirteenth century that the effigy assumes an individual character, so as to become a portrait in the modern psychological sense. On the latter point see Jitta-Zadoks as cited in my *Transformation of Nature in Art*, p. 203. In the same way, in Greek art, we are told (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* XXXV, 153) that "Lysistratos, brother of Lysippos, was the first to make complete likenesses of his model; till then men had been represented as beautiful as possible;" which if perhaps not true as regards Lysistratos himself, is certainly true for the history of Greek art generally, where likeness in our modern sense does not begin to appear before at least the end of the fifth century B. C., nothing like a "portrait" being recognizable in the monumental art of the fifth

It will also be a true dictum, as Dionysius says, to declare that even the non-existent partakes of beauty, not indeed as being altogether non-existent, for whatever is nothing is not beautiful, but non-existent as being not in act but *in potentia*, as in the case of matter which has the essence of form in itself in a manner of imperfect or non-existent being, which is privation as an evil.²¹ For either this is in a good nature sin in act or in the agent; or it has some good nature of its own, as when a just penalty is actively accepted, or an unjust penalty is passively accepted and patiently endured. In the first way (i. e. as privation), then, evil taken in relation to the subject is beautiful; it is indeed a deformity in itself, but is so accidentally, as being contrasted with the good; it is the occasion of beauty, goodness, and virtue, not as being these really, but as conducing to their manifestation. Hence, Augustine, *Enchiridion*, c. 11, says, "It is because of the beauty of good things that God allowed evil to be made." For if

century itself (see E. Pfuhl, *Die Anfänge der griechischen Bildniskunst. Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Individualität*, 1927). For the theory in Christian art cf. in the *Acts of John* (M. R. James, *Apocryphal New Testament*, 1924, pp. 233-234): "The portrait is like me: yet not like me, child but like my fleshly image; for if this painter who hath imitated this my face desireth to draw [the very] me in a portrait, he will be at a loss, needing more than the colors... and than the position of my shape and old age and youth and all things that are seen with the eye," and a thousand years later, Eckhart, I, 408 and 94, "If I paint my likeness on the wall, he who sees the likeness is not seeing me... my looks are not my nature, they are accidents of nature." The passage cited from the *Acts of John* is almost literally paralleled in the *Uttaratantra* of Maitreya, see E. Obermiller, in *Acta Orientalia*, IX, pp. 208-209.

21. Orthodox doctrine maintains that God is wholly in act, and that there is no potentiality in Him. In any case, it will be correct to say that he does not proceed from potentiality to act after the manner of creatures, which being in time are necessarily partly in potentiality and partly in act. It will also be correct to say that God is wholly in act, if the name be taken "concretely," i. e. in logical distinction from Godhead. But we think that the exegesis of Dionysius by Magnus (or St. Thomas) in the *Opusculum de Pulchro* and by Ulrich as above is incomplete in this matter of the beauty of the non-existent. Dionysius is really asserting the beauty of the Divine Darkness or Dark Ray as being in no way less than that of the Divine Light; distinguishing the beauty of the Godhead from that of God, although logically and not really. From the metaphysical point of view, the Divine Darkness is as really a darkness as the Divine Light is a light, and ought not to be explained away as merely an excess of light. Cf. Dionysius, *De Div. Nom.*, c. VII, "not otherwise seeing darkness except through light," which also implies the converse; and it would be reasonable to paraphrase Ulrich's words as follows, "For if there were no Darkness, there would be only the intelligible beauty of the Light, etc." Cf. also Eckhart, I, 369, "the motionless Dark that no one knows but He in whom it reigns. First to arise in it is Light." Cf. also Böhme, "And the deep of the darkness is as great as the habitation of the

light; and they stand not one distant from the other, but together in one another, and neither of them hath beginning nor end." The Beauty of the Divine Darkness is asserted also in other traditions, cf. the names Kṛṣṇa and Kālī and the corresponding iconography; and as the *Maitri Up.*, VI, 2, expresses it, "The part of Him which is characterized by Darkness (*tamas*)... is this Rudra;" in *Rg Veda*, III, 55, 7, where Agni is said to "proceed foremost whilst yet abiding in His ground," this "ground" is also the Darkness, as in X, 55, 5, "Thou stayest in the Darkness" (i. e. *ab intra*). The conjunction of these "opposites" (*chāyātāpa*, "light and shade," *Kaṭha Up.*, III, 1 and VI, 5, *amṛta* and *mṛtyu*, "life and death," *Rg Veda*, X, 121, 2) in Him as the Supreme Identity no more implies a composition than does the *principium conjunctivum* of St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.* I, q. 27, a. 2 c, as cited above.

All these considerations, which at first sight appear to pertain rather to theology than aesthetic, have an immediate bearing upon the mediaeval representations of God's majesty and wrath, as manifested for example on the Judgment Day, to which Ulrich himself refers at the close of his treatise. When we consider actual representations of the Last Judgment, it is needful to be aware that God was thought of here as no less beautiful in His wrath than elsewhere in His love, and that the representations of the damned and of the blessed in art and as representations were regarded as equally beautiful; as St. Thomas says, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 39, a. 8, "an image is said to be beautiful if it perfectly represents even an ugly thing," and this accords with the (unstated) converse of St. Augustine's dictum that things are not beautiful merely because they please us. St. Thomas, *ibid.*, III, q. 9, a. 1 *ad* 2 and a. 5 c, says also "Although the beauty of the thing seen conduces the perfection of vision, there may be deformity of the thing seen without imperfection of vision; because the images of things, whereby the soul knows things, are not themselves contrary," and "We delight in knowing evil things, although the evil things themselves delight us not." In affirming that the beauty of the work of art does not depend on the beauty of the theme, mediaeval and modern aesthetic meet on common ground.

there were no evil, there would be only the absolute beauty of the good; but when there is evil, then there is annexed a relative beauty of the good, so that by contrast with the opposite evil the nature of the good shines out more clearly. Taking evil in the second and third ways (i. e. as penalty), evil is beautiful in itself as being just and good, though a deformity as being an evil. But since nothing is altogether without a good nature, but evil is rather called an imperfect good, so no entity is altogether without the quality of beauty, but what in beauty is imperfectly beautiful is called "ugly" (*turpe*). But this imperfection is either absolute, and this is when there lacks in anything something natural to it, so that whatever is corrupt or foul is "ugly;" or relative, and this is when there lacks in anything the beauty of something nobler than itself to which it is compared as though it strove to imitate that thing, granted that it has something of the same nature, as when Augustine, *De Natura boni contra Manicheos*, c. 22, says that "In the form of a man, beauty is greater, in comparison wherewith the beauty of a monkey is called a deformity."²²

Augustine, in the Book of Questions [*De div. Quaestionibus*], LXXXIII [q. 30], also says that the worthy (*honestas*) is an intelligible beauty, or what we properly call a spiritual beauty, and he also says there that visible beauties are also called values, but less properly. Whence, it seems that the beautiful and the worthy are the same; and this agrees with Cicero's definition of both (as cited above). But this is so to be understood, that as the ugly (*turpe*) is referred to in two ways, either generally with respect to any deforming defect, or alternatively with respect of a voluntary and culpable defect, so also the worthy is referred to in two ways, either generally with respect to whatever is adorned (*decoratum*) by a participation in anything divine, or particularly with respect to whatever perfects the adornment (*decor*, Skr. *bhūṣaṇa*) of the rational creature. According to the first way, the worthy is synonymous with the good and the beautiful; but there is a triple distinction, inasmuch as the goodness of a thing is its perfection, the beauty of a thing is the comeliness of its formality, and the worthy belongs to anything when it is compared to something else so that it pleases and delights the spectator either intellectually or sensibly. For that is what Cicero's definition, "attracts us by its power, etc.," amounts to. What is to be understood is a matter of propriety (*aptitudo*), for all the terms of a definition bespeak what is appropriate (to the thing defined). In the second way the worthy is not synonymous with the good but is a division of the good when the good is divided into the worthy, the useful, and the delightful. And in the same way it is a part of the beautiful and not synonymous with it, but such that what is worthy, viz. grace and virtues, is an accidental beauty in the rational or intellectual creature. Isidorus likewise says in *De Summo Bono*, "The adornment of things consists in

22. The assumption is implied that monkey and man have something in common, both being animals; and further, that the monkey is a would-be man, man being taken to be the most perfect animal, and all things tending to their ultimate perfection. Psychologically, a certain analogy can be recognized in the modern theory of evolution, which is anthropocentric in the same sense. The comparison of monkey and man (which derives from Plato, *Hippias Major*, 289 a) cannot be fairly made except, as Augustine makes it,

relatively; for things are only beautiful or good in their kind, and if two things are equally beautiful in their kind we cannot say that one is more beautiful or better than another absolutely, all kinds as such being equally good and beautiful, viz. in their eternal reasons, though there is hierarchy *ab extra*, in *ordo per esse*. Things as they are in God, viz. in kind or intelligible species, are all the same, and it is only as being exemplified that they can be ranked.

what is beautiful and appropriate (*pulchro et apto*)," and so these three, adornment, beauty, and propriety are differentiated. For whatever makes a thing comely (*decentem*) is called adornment (*decor*), whether it be in the thing or externally adapted to it, as ornaments of clothing and jewels and the like. Hence, adornment is common to the beautiful and appropriate. And these two, according to Isidorus, differ as absolute and relative, because whatever is ordered to the ornamentation of something else, is appropriate to it, as clothes or ornaments to bodies, and grace and virtues to spiritual substances; but whatever is its own adornment is called beautiful, as in the case of a man, or angel, or like creature.

So that beauty in creatures is by way of being a formal cause in relation to matter, or to whatever is formed and in this respect corresponds to matter. From these considerations it is plainly evident, as Dionysius says, that light is prior to beauty, being its cause. For as physical light is the cause of the beauty of all colors, so the Formal Light is the beauty of all forms.²³ But the category of the delightful coincides with both because besides being made visible the beautiful is what is desired by everyone, and therewith also beloved, for as Augustine, *De civ. Dei* [XIV, c. 7], says that desire for a thing not in possession, and love of a thing possessed are the same;²⁴ and since desire of this sort necessarily has an object of its own kind, the natural desire for what is good and beautiful is for the good as such and for the beautiful in so far as it is the same as the good, as Dionysius says, who uses this argument to prove that the good and the beautiful are the same.

Dionysius, however, propounds many characteristics of the divine Beauty, saying that beauty and the beautiful are not divided into participant and participated in God, as is the case in creatures, but are altogether the same in Him. Also that it is the efficient cause of all beauty, "in the likeness of light sending forth to everything," together with idiosyncrasy, "the beautifying distributions of its own fontal radiance," and this applies to Him in mode of beauty inasmuch as God is in this way the efficient cause and in causal operation pours out perfections. Thus, cometh goodness from Goodness, beauty from Beauty, wisdom from Wisdom, and so forth. Again it "summons all things to itself," as that which is desirable evokes desire, and the Greek name for beauty shows this. For *kalos* meaning "good" and

23. Ulrich naturally presupposes in the reader a familiarity with the fundamental doctrine of exemplarism; without which it would be impossible to grasp the meaning of "formal light." Those who are not versed in the doctrine of exemplarism may consult Bissen, *L'Exemplarisme divin selon Saint Bonaventura*, Paris, 1929. The doctrine of the inherence of the many in the one is common to all traditional teaching; it may be briefly summarized in Eckhart's "single form that is the form of very different things" (Skr. *viśvam ekam*) and "image-bearing light" (Skr. *jyotiḥ viśvarūpam*), cf. Bonaventura, *Sent.*, I, d. 35, a. unic. q. 2 ad 2, "A sort of illustration can be adduced in light, which is one numerically but gives expression to many and various kinds of color."

24. Ulrich misquotes Augustine (who is cited also by St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, II-i, q. 25, a. 2); what

Augustine says is that "love yearning to possess the beloved object is desire; but having and enjoying it, is joy," and Eckhart, I, 82, follows when he says, "We desire a thing while as yet we do not possess it. When we have it, we love it, desire then falling away." The greater profundity of Augustine's and Eckhart's understanding is evident. Augustine says too, *De Trin.*, X, 10, that "We enjoy what we have when the delighted will is at rest therein," and this proposition, like so many in Scholastic philosophy, is equally valid from the theological and the aesthetic points of view, which in the last analysis are inseparable: cf. the Indian view of the "tasting of *rasa*" (i. e. "aesthetic experience") as "connatural with the tasting of Brahman" (*Sāhitya Darpaṇa*, III, 2-3, where *sahodaraḥ* is equivalent to *ex uno fonte*).

kallos meaning "beautiful" are taken from *kalo*, which is to "call" or "cry;"²⁵ not merely that God called all things into being out of nothing when He spake and they were made [Ps. CXLIX, 5], but also that as being beautiful and good He is the end that summons all desire unto Himself, and by the calling and desire moves all things to move towards this end in all that they do, and so He holds all things together in participation of Himself by the love of His own Beauty. Again, in all things he assembles all things that are theirs inasmuch as in His mode of Beauty He pours out every form, as light unites all the parts of a composite thing in its own being, and Dionysius says the same. Just as ignorance is divisive of those things that wander (*ignorantia divisiva est errantium*),²⁶ so the presence of the Intelligible Light assembles and unites all things that it illuminates. Moreover, "it is neither created nor destroyed," whether in act or in potentiality, being beautiful essentially and not by participation. For neither are such things made, nor being in such a nature are they subject to corruption. Beauty is neither made to be beautiful, nor can it be made to be otherwise than beautiful. So, again, "there can be neither increase nor decrease of Beauty" whether in act or in potentiality, because as being the limit of beauty it cannot be increased, and because not having any opposite it cannot be diminished. "Nor is it beautiful in some part of its essence and ugly in another" as are all beauties that depend upon a cause; which are beautiful in proportion to their likeness to the primal Beautiful, but in the measure of their imperfection when compared to it, and to the extent that they are nigh to what is naught, are ugly; which cannot be in Him Whose essence is Beauty, and so it is possible for the beautiful to be ugly, but not indeed for Beauty to be ugly. "Nor is it beautiful in one place and not in another" as is the case with those other and created things which were naturally deformed when the "earth was without form and void" (Genesis, I, 2) and afterwards were formed when the Spirit of God moved over the waters warming (*fovens*)²⁷ and forming all things; and as thus they take their beauty from another, without which other they might not be beautiful, for as Avicenna (*Metaphys.*) says everything that receives anything from another may also not receive it from that other. But there is nothing of this sort in the First Cause of beauty, which gets its beauty from itself; this is no matter of a possible beauty, but of inevitable and infallible necessity. "Nor is it beautiful in one relation and ugly in another," after the manner of creatures, each of which is comparatively ugly; for the less elegant is ugly when compared to what is more beautiful, and the

25. This etymology is ultimately derived from Plato, *Kratylos*, 416 c, "To have called (τὸ καλεῖσθαι) things useful is one and the same thing as to speak of the beautiful (τὸ καλὸν)." Then through Plotinus, Hermias, Proklus, and Dionysius it reaches Ulrich. It is, of course, a hermeneutic rather than a scientific etymology.

26. *Ignorantia* = Skr. *avidyā*, "knowledge-of," objective, empirical, relative knowledge. Cf. *Bṛhadāraṇyaka Up.*, IV, 4, 19, "Only by Intellect (*manasā*) can it be seen that 'There is no plurality in Him;'" and *Kaṭha Up.*, IV, 14, "Just as water rained upon a lofty peak runs here and there (*vidhāvati* = *errat*) amongst the hills, so one who sees the principles in

multiplicity (*dharmāṇy pṛthak paśyan*) pursues after them (*anudhāvati* = *vagatur*)." Ulrich's *errantium* = Skr. *samsārasya*.

27. *Fovere* = Skr. *tap*. Cf. *Aitareya Āraṇyaka*, II, 4, 3, "He glowed upon (*abhyatapatā*) the Waters, and from the Waters that were set aglow (*abhitaptābhyaḥ*) a form (*mūrtiḥ*) was born," *ibid.*, II, 2, 1, "He who glows (*tapati*) is the Spiritus (*prāṇaḥ*)," and *Jaiminiya Upaniṣad Brūhmaṇa*, I, 54, where "He glows yonder" is the Supernal-Sun, *Āditya*; also *Atharva Veda*, X, 7, 32, "proceeding in a glowing (*tapasi*) on the face (lit. *pṛṣṭhe*, 'back') of the Waters."

most beautiful is ugly when compared with the uncreated Beauty. As in Job, IV [18], "Behold, He put no trust in His servants; and His angels He charged with folly," where is comparing them with God. Whence it is to be laid down: No man can be justified if he be compared to God. Similarly, Job, XV[15], "Behold, He putteth no trust in His saints; yea, the heavens are not clean in His sight." Hence, He alone is the Most Beautiful simply, nor has he any relative deformity. Again, He "is not beautiful in one place and not in another," as is the beautiful that is in some things and is not in another, as if He had exemplary Beauty for some things and for some others had it not; but since He is of perfect beauty, He has simply and singly in Himself all of Beauty without any deduction therefrom.

And as beside the goodness in which the goodness of individual things subsists there is a certain goodness of the universe, so also beside the beauty of individual things there is one beauty of the whole universe, which beauty results from the integration of all that is beautiful in any manner to make one most beautiful world, wherein the highest and divine Beauty can be participated in by the creature; and as to these things, it is said in Genesis, II[1], "Thus the heavens and the earth were finished" (*perfecti*), which is to be taken as referring to the goodness of all their adornment (*ornatus*), that is, to their beauty.²⁸ And since there cannot be a more perfect beauty than the universally perfect, unless it be the super-perfect Beauty that is in God alone, it is true, as Cicero says, *De Natura Deorum* [II, 87], that "All the parts of the world are so constituted that they could not be better for use nor more

28. The doctrine of the beauty of the universe integrally, as being greater than that of any of its parts, is extensively developed in Christian Scholastic as well as in Oriental philosophy; we hope to be able to present subsequently a translation of Hugo of St. Victor, *De Tribus Diebus*, c. 4-13, in which he treats of the beauty of the world as a whole and in its parts, combining the theological and aesthetic points of view. As regards Genesis, II, 1, St. Augustine, *Confessions*, XIII, 28, emphasizes the concept of the greater beauty of the whole when he says, "Thou sawest everything that Thou hadst made, and behold it was not only Good, but also Very Good, as being now all together." This beauty of the whole universe, viz. of all that has been, is, or will be anywhere, is that of the "world-picture" as God sees it in the eternal mirror of the divine intellect, and as it may be seen by others according to their capacity, so as Augustine says (*De Civ. Dei*, XII, 29) with reference to angelic (Skr. *adhidaivata*, *parokṣa*) understanding, "The eternal mirror leads the minds of those who look in it to a knowledge of all things, and better than in any other way." The divine "satisfaction," expressed in the words of Genesis "saw that it was very good," represents the perfection of "aesthetic" experience, as also in Śaṅkarācārya's *Svātmanirūpana*, 95, "The Ultimate Essence, regarding the world-picture painted by the Essence on the vast canvas of the Essence takes a great delight therein," echoed in the *Siddhāntamuktāvalī*, ed. Venis, 1912, p. 181, "I behold the world as a picture, I see the Essence;" all this corresponding to the Vedic concept of the Supernal Sun as the "eye" of Varuṇa wherewith He "surveys the whole

universe" (*viśvam abhicaṣṭe*, *Rg Veda*, I, 164, 44, cf. VII, 61, 1) and in Buddhism to the designation of the Buddha as "the eye in the world," *cakkhuṃ loke*. All the contempt of the world which has been attributed to Christianity and to the Vedānta is directed not against the world as seen in its perfection, *sub specie aeternitatis*, and in the mirror of the speculative intellect, but against an empirical vision of the world as made up of independently self-subsistent parts; and as Augustine says, *De Doctr. Christ.* III, 12, "There is no evil in things, but only in the sinner's misuse of them."

If we ignore the appreciation of the beauty of the world that is a fundamental doctrine in Scholastic philosophy, we shall be in a great danger of misinterpreting the whole "spirit" of Gothic art. It is true that Christian art is anything but "naturalistic" in our modern and idolatrous sense (cf. Blake's protest, when he says that he is "afraid that Wordsworth is fond of nature"); but for all its abstraction, or, in other words, its intellectuality, it is saturated with a sense of the formal beauty that is proper to everything in its kind and coincident with its natural life; and unless we recognize that *this* naturalism is altogether consistent with what is explicitly affirmed in the underlying philosophy, we are very likely to commit the romantic error of supposing that whatever in Gothic art seems to be taken directly from nature or to be "true to nature" represents an interpolation of profane experience; in other words, we shall run the risk of seeing in the art an interior conflict that is altogether foreign to it and really belongs only to ourselves.

beautiful in their kind." But this must be understood, according to the distinction made above,²⁹ where it was shown in what manner the universe can be either more or less good. For in the same way it can be more or less beautiful. Because since whatever is deformed either has some beauty in it, as in the case of monstrosities or that of penal evil, or alternatively raises the beauty of its opposite to a higher degree, as in the case of natural defect or moral sin, it is clear that deformities themselves have their source in the beauty of the universe, viz, in so far as they are beautiful essentially or accidentally, or the contrary do not originate thence, viz, in so far as they are privations of beauty. Whence it follows that the beauty of the universe cannot be increased or diminished; because, what is diminished in one part is increased in another, either intensively when goods are seen to be the more beautiful when contrasted with their opposite evils, or extensively in that the corruption of one thing is the generation of another and the deformity of guilt is repaired by the beauty of justice in the penalty.³⁰ There are also certain other things which do not depend on the natural beauty of the universe, as not being derived from this natural beauty essentially, nor accidents of this natural beauty arising from the essential principles of the universe, but yet pour out abundantly a supernatural beauty in the universe, as in the case of gifts of graces, the incarnation of the Son of God, the renewal of the world, the glorification of the saints, the penalty of the damned, and in general whatever is miraculous. For grace is a supernatural likeness of the divine Beauty. And through the incarnation every creature really participates in the essence of the divine Beauty, by a natural and personal union with it, before which creatures participated in it only by similitude; for as Gregory says [Hom. XX in *Evangelia*, n. 7], "Man is in a manner all creatures."³¹ Moreover, by the renewal of the world and the glorification of the saints the universe in all its essential parts is adorned with a new glory; and by the punishment of the wicked and the order of divine providence, the further adornment of justice, which is now seen but darkly, is poured out into the world; and in miracles, all the creature's passive powers are reduced to act—and every act is the "beauty" of its potentiality.

29. Viz., in the preceding chapter, which deals with the "Good of the Universe."

30. Cf. our "poetic justice." It may be observed that Beauty as an efficient cause of all specific beauties can be compared to the scientific concept of Energy as manifested in a diversity of forces, the notion of a conservation of Beauty corresponding to that of the conservation of Energy. But it must not be overlooked that these are analogies on different levels of reference.

31. It is in this sense that as Eckhart says (I, 380), "Creatures never rest till they have gotten into human nature; therein do they attain to their original form, God namely." Intellect, being conformable to what-

ever is knowable, "raises up all things into God," so that "I alone take all things out of their sense and make them one in me" (I, 86 and 380). And this is precisely what the artist does, whose first gesture (*actus primus*, St. Thomas, *De Coelo et Mundo*, II, 4, 5) is an interior and contemplative act (*Skr. dhyāna*) in which the intellect envisages the thing not as the senses know it, nor with respect to its value, but as intelligible form or species; the likeness of which he afterwards (*actus secundus*, *ibid.*) proceeds to embody in the material, "similitude being with respect to the form," St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 5, a. 4).

BUFFINGTON AND THE SKYSCRAPER

By E. M. UPJOHN

FEW questions in the development of American architecture have been more discussed than that of the origin of the skyscraper and of the ideas that made it possible. In view of the tremendous later growth of this architectural type and its success as a means of expression, the topic was sure to arouse interest, and dispute at those points where doubt was possible.

At least three cities, New York, Chicago, and Minneapolis, have sought the honor of being the birthplace of the skyscraper, and several architects have laid claim to distinction as its inventor. It is not the purpose of the present article to reconsider the whole question, but only that part of it which pertains to Leroy S. Buffington. No complete discussion of his claim has hitherto been presented. His name does not even occur in Tallmadge's very readable *Story of Architecture in America*. Col. W. A. Starrett, in *Skyscrapers*, says merely that Buffington "had dreamed of skeleton steel structures as early as 1880." Mujica reproduces in his monumental *History of the Skyscraper* Buffington's design of 1887-1888 for a twenty-eight-story building, but, omitting any consideration of Buffington's earlier ideas, only says: "In 1888 Architect L. S. Buffington published his project for a 28-story building, which holds the double merit of being the first all steel frame building and a skyscraper of really important height." These writers, incidentally, are inexact in speaking of *steel*, for Buffington's words then were naturally *metal* and *iron*.

It was Buffington's claim that he conceived the skyscraper as early as 1882; but his claim has not been admitted (save perhaps to a limited degree by Woltersdorf), nor have full reasons for its rejection been advanced. There has recently come to hand fresh evidence which tends to support Buffington's contention, or, at least, to show that his real importance has not yet been fully appreciated. His significance lies in his discovery of the principle of skyscraper construction before the Home Insurance Building of 1883-1885, and before the idea had been evolved by anyone else so far as is known at present.

The possibility of an extensive use of iron for structural purposes received attention throughout the nineteenth century, and many buildings represented experiments. The École Polytechnique was greatly interested. A full account of this growing use of iron is impossible here, but some examples of it may be briefly mentioned. At Coalbrookdale, Wales, in 1779 appeared the first metal bridge, a cast-iron structure, the design of which was reminiscent of stone forms and slightly suggestive of the Gothic revival. The Paris grain market (Bélanger and Brunet) of 1811, derivative from the Pantheon at Rome, had its pure masonry construction capped with a dome of cast iron. Sheds and other primarily utilitarian buildings, such as the Madeleine market (Veugny), Paris, 1829, were sometimes constructed of metal throughout, sometimes with self-supporting masonry walls. In the latter case, the roof might be carried on iron trusses or beams, any interior supports might be cast-iron columns,

and, contingently, iron columns carrying the roof might be placed in the plane of the walls. The Centennial Exposition at Philadelphia had this sort of building.

The Bibliothèque Ste. Genevieve, Paris, by Labrouste, built 1843-1850, is a more monumental example. The reading room is too wide to do without internal support, but masonry piers would have unduly encumbered the room. Labrouste used slender iron columns supporting the iron trusses. No serious attempt to find a design suitable to the new material was to be expected at this date: the struts connecting the upper and lower chords of the truss are forced into a rinceau pattern.

The most striking example of metal construction near the middle of the nineteenth century was the Crystal Palace, London, built in 1851 by Paxton, and reërected in Sydenham in 1854. This had the form of a colossal greenhouse; the walls of glass were completely supported by the metal—a skeleton construction and curtain. Skyscraper construction is just this, but usually with masonry curtain, until recently. Paxton's substitution of glass anticipates developments even more recent than skyscrapers, modes as modern as that of Gropius' Bauhaus at Dessau.

It is clear that metal was widely employed in architecture before the 1880's. Metal was used to support the roof and the floors of the interior, but, normally, not to carry the exterior wall. Though this wall might sometimes cease to support its share either of roof or floors, it was, at least, self-supporting.

The translation of the second volume of Viollet-le-Duc's *Lectures on Architecture*, appearing in America in 1881 (the first volume, of 1875, does not concern us here) serves to show the state of affairs then. Through Lectures XII and XIII Viollet-le-Duc pleads for honesty of construction, for a revelation or exposure of iron where it is used in building. He suggests a number of possibilities for the use of iron in vaulted construction for ribs or buttressing. He shows how iron struts might support such a balcony as would formerly have rested on stone corbels (p. 57). He designs a large assembly hall over a market, with the intervening floor carried on beams and girders, supported in turn by iron columns placed diagonally (a scheme somewhat like trusswork); but the walls of the hall and of the stairs at either end are self-supporting masonry (pp. 62 ff.; pl. xxi). Elsewhere (p. 76) the voussoirs of an arch are set in a metal frame: iron supports stonework without anticipating skyscraper construction. For a large assembly hall again (pp. 89 ff.) he shows a network of iron ribs carrying a vault and supported by free-standing columns at the corners; but the wall still remains self-supporting masonry. He has more of the same sort, and even shows how a vault may be made entirely of iron (pl. xxv); but in no case is the final essential step taken of supporting masonry walls on metal.

The point at which Viollet-le-Duc had arrived may be defined in his own words: "The problem.... would therefore be this: to obtain a shell entirely of masonry, walls and vaulting, while diminishing the quantity of material and avoiding obstructive supports by the use of iron" (p. 59). Implicitly, the metal may support the floor and roof loads but not the walls. In discussing construction of iron and masonry combined, after suggesting designs like those mentioned above, he says: "It would undoubtedly be more advantageous to give.... some examples of modern architectural structures erected in accordance with these principles: but, unfortunately, such structures do not exist" (p. 106). Further: "If, therefore, we undertake to encase an iron structure

with a shell of masonry, that shell must be regarded only as an envelope, having no function other than supporting itself, without lending any support to the iron, or receiving any from it" (p. 129).

These passages and others evince Viollet-le-Duc's interest in the structural value of metal. He would presumably reflect the most advanced European thought on the subject. But he seems to have paused at precisely that point which was the essence of the skyscraper problem. Just so long as the masonry remained self-supporting, even though the floors, roof, etc. were carried on iron, it was not economically feasible to erect tall buildings. Not only is there a height beyond which a self-supporting masonry wall cannot go (the Monadnock Block by Burnham and Root, 1891, is of sixteen stories); but still more important is the wall's necessary thickness, especially at the lower stories, which causes a loss of valuable floor space and perhaps even more valuable light. Windows pierced through a thicker wall are obviously less effective. Without the final step of supporting the exterior walls themselves on metal, a true skyscraper was impossible. This idea does not seem to have occurred to Viollet-le-Duc, but it did in America during the 1880's, to Buffington apparently earlier than to anyone else.

In his undated and unpublished *Concise History*, Buffington defined the skyscraper as "composed of a braced skeleton of steel with [masonry] veneer supported on shelves fastened to the skeleton at each story." At three points this definition seems to be unnecessarily narrow. In principle it makes no difference whether steel or iron is used. The very core of skyscraper construction is the support of the walls by metal, but it makes little difference whether that support is provided by shelves, as Buffington states, by spandrel beams, as in the Home Insurance Building, or by some other similar device. If skyscraper construction is to be taken as a scheme to make possible buildings of indefinite height, some form of bracing is required in practice, but from a theoretical point of view the matter of bracing by diagonal ties or gusset plates is secondary to that of the support of the walls on the frame. It seems preferable to consider as a skyscraper any multistory building of such height that curtain walls supported at frequent intervals by a metal frame are introduced for economic or structural reasons. (Regardless of their construction, towers such as the Washington Monument, the Tour Eiffel, or various church towers, cannot properly be called skyscrapers.) The support of the walls at frequent intervals implies support at least at each story. The purpose of the wall has thereby fundamentally changed. It has lost its supporting function and become a mere screen to keep out the weather, while before, even in the suggestions of Viollet-le-Duc, it had at least to be strong enough to stand by itself.

There are three awards to be made of the honor attaching to the development of skyscraper architecture. One is for the architect of the first skyscraper built. Another is for the inventor who first conceived skyscraper construction. A third is for the champion of the new structural principle who imposed it on an obstinate world. Let us examine the claim of Buffington to each of these.

After much discussion and with some remaining dissent, there is general agreement that the Home Insurance Building was the first skyscraper. Ground was broken for it on May first, 1884, and the first tenants moved in during the autumn of 1885. Its



FIG. 1—*Design for Boston Block, Minneapolis, Minn., by L. S. Buffington*



FIG. 2—*Design for West Hotel, Minneapolis, Minn., by L. S. Buffington*

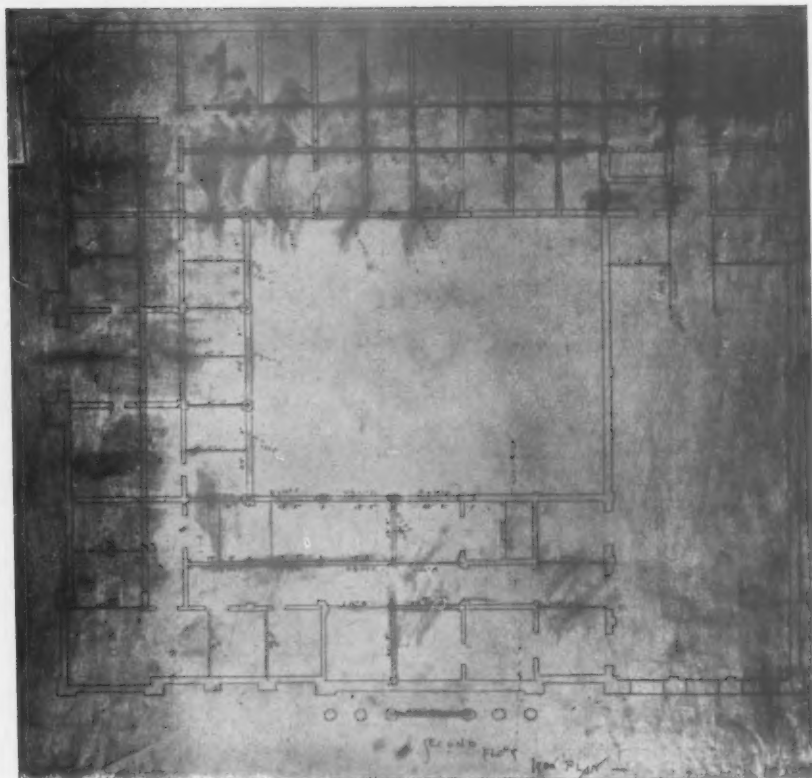


FIG. 3—*Framing Plan for Second Floor of West Hotel, Minneapolis, Minn., by L. S. Buffington*

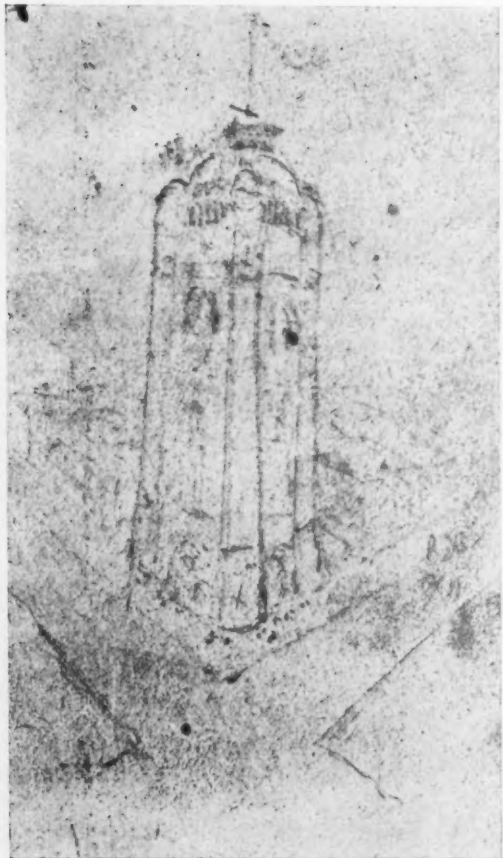


FIG. 4—*Drawing for Tower Building, by L. S. Buffington*

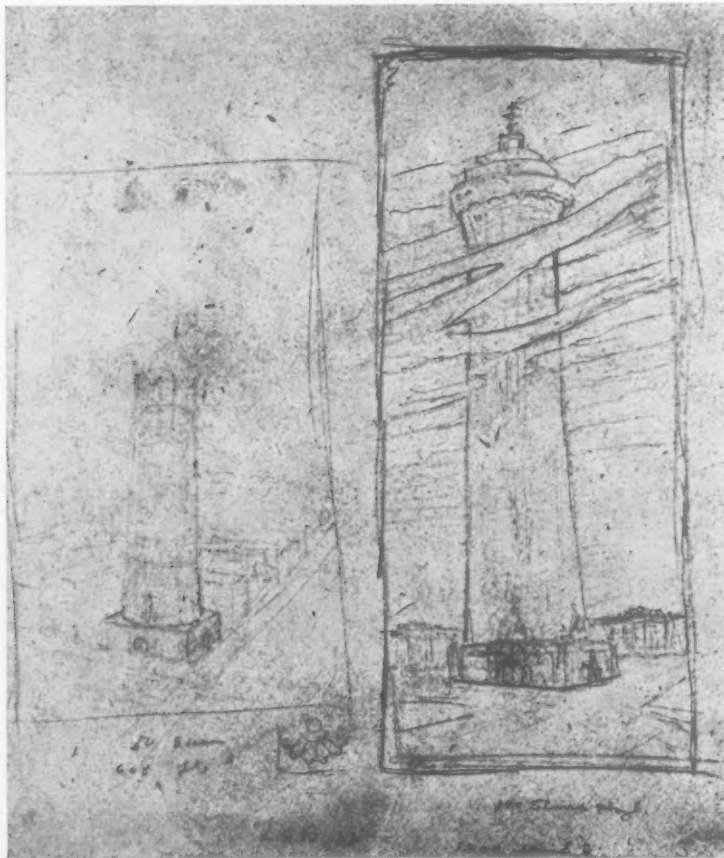


FIG. 5—*Drawing Showing Fifty-Story Building and Hundred-Story Building, by L. S. Buffington*

design, structural and otherwise, must have been complete in May, 1883, when the competition drawings were submitted. This means that Jenney, the architect of the building, must have had the conception of its construction early in 1883, but no evidence has yet been brought to light to suggest an earlier date than that.

Taking the early months of 1883 as the date, we must still inquire to what extent Jenney had conceived skyscraper construction. It is unnecessary to describe his building in view of the detailed report of the committee of architects who inspected it during its demolition, a document of great interest published in the *Architectural Record*, August, 1934. The building did not have a braced frame, it is true; but this we have seen to be secondary. At the fourth, sixth, and ninth stories, and above the tenth story, iron spandrel beams did support one or more stories of exterior wall. In the corner piers, where the brick sheathing around the metal reached a depth of twelve inches, a four-inch flange served to support the masonry in part. The building was certainly not of skyscraper construction throughout, for the party walls and the two lowest floors were of pure masonry, and both the fireproofing around the piers and the exterior wall itself were only partially supported by the metal frame. None the less, since it does in part adopt the essential principle of skyscraper construction, we may reasonably admit it to be the first skyscraper, unless another building, by Buffington or somebody else, can be shown to have anticipated it.¹

Two buildings by Buffington come into consideration, the Boston Block and the West Hotel. The Boston Block (Fig. 1) was erected in 1880. Drawings are lacking, but Buffington described its construction as having cast-iron columns built into the street piers and independent of the walls. Since the columns support the floors but not the walls, according to Buffington, we may safely conclude the Boston Block does not have skyscraper construction as we have defined it; its system was one known to Viollet-le-Duc and frequently used in this country before 1880.

The West Hotel, likewise in Minneapolis, was one of Buffington's proudest achievements, though a fairly typical eclectic building (Fig. 2). Gothic touches stand next to parts suggested by the Renaissance, and Montgomery Schuyler justly remarks that the design "might have been both chastened and clarified by further study." But its faults are those of the time. In Chapter XV (entitled *Questions-Answers*) of the unpublished *Memoirs of L. S. Buffington*, he says: "In the lobby of the West Hotel in Minneapolis, completed in 1883, are eight brick piers, two feet square, with a round ribbed cast-iron column in the center of each pier; wrought iron I-beams or shelves were fastened against these iron columns. The brickwork of the piers, and between them, was carried on these shelves. So here, in the West Hotel, was first constructed in 1882, the embryo stage of the column and the supporting shelf of the skeleton of steel construction." This description can be verified by what seems a

1. There is an interesting contrast between Jenney and Buffington. When Jenney built this early skyscraper he did not realize the significance of it. The emphasis of his article, *The Construction of a Heavy Fireproof Building on a Compressible Soil*, in the *Sanitary Engineer*, Dec. 10, 1885, was on the possibilities of settlement, of fireproofing, of almost anything but the crucial point of supporting the walls on metal. The implications of his system seem not

to have struck him at that time, and they were certainly not made part of the general knowledge of the architectural profession until later. Buffington, on the other hand, did realize the implications of his invention. In his article in the *Northwestern Architect*, March, 1888, he points out the economy and light resulting from thin walls, the speed of construction, the ease of alteration, and so on—exactly the points which skeleton construction has in its favor.

fairly complete set of drawings on tracing cloth, possibly the original drawings. Much iron was used: for trusses over the central lobby, around which the design is built; for the support of the cupola; for decorative features, such as the cornice; and for the support of the walls on the court around and above the lobby. The framing plans, of which we illustrate one for the second floor (Fig. 3), show beams, channels, and box girders, supporting partition or wall as the case may be. The use of the cross in ink on these drawings may be to indicate the cast-iron columns he mentions. No drawings are available to show cross sections of the piers at large scale or any other details of the lobby's construction. Even so, the illustration given bears out Buffington's statement so well that the rest may be accepted as true.

The question arises, why did not Buffington adopt in this building the new method of construction he had mastered, as will be shown presently, by May, 1882. There are several answers. His client might have objected to such an experiment. It is doubtful if skyscraper construction would have been economical then for an eight-story building the top story of which was within the Mansard roof. The slight saving of floor space would be negligible for the land was not especially valuable: a private house stood next door. The gain of additional light with thinner walls would not be great in an eight-story building. The purpose of the building made need of alteration unlikely. Then, too, if building was under way in 1882, as Buffington states (building permit records are not preserved), the iron would have had to be ordered in 1881, that is, earlier than the first known working-out of Buffington's skyscraper designs, May, 1882, a date too late to introduce construction on a metal frame in a building already under way and completed the next year.

It is clear that neither the Boston Block nor the West Hotel can be considered examples of skyscraper construction. The former is constructed in a way common then and even earlier. The latter makes an advance in the lobby's construction but applies the new idea only in a very partial form. Since these are Buffington's only two buildings to be proposed for the distinction of the first skyscraper, we must let that honor rest with Jenney's Home Insurance Building.

We have mentioned, however, that there are three awards to be considered. The second involves Buffington's claim to priority in ideas. His famous patent was applied for in 1887 and granted in 1888. Consequently, it was anticipated by the Home Insurance Building. But in his *Memoirs* Buffington quotes Eugene F. Osborne of Chicago, an engineer and mechanical expert, as saying: "I saw many of your studies in 1882, before the patent was issued." In 1929 Buffington told Professor Mann that he "perfected the idea of the skeleton frame in 1882, and made a design of a 28-story building to illustrate the possibilities of such construction."²

If the date 1882 can be established Buffington must be credited with the earliest

2. See the letter by Professor F. M. Mann of the School of Architecture in the University of Minnesota, in the *Minneapolis Journal* of Jan. 29, 1929. At that time Buffington's account was as follows: During the winter of 1882-1883 Jenney visited Minneapolis; Buffington showed him not only the West Hotel, then in process of construction, but also the sketches for his skyscraper project, explaining the ideas he had

for a skeleton construction; Jenney, thereupon, went back to Chicago and built the Home Insurance Building, incorporating these ideas of Buffington's. These are statements of a sort hard to corroborate; if correct, they would indicate that the conception was originally Buffington's but would not prejudice the primacy of the Home Insurance Building.

known working-out of the ideas for skyscraper construction. But F. W. Fitzpatrick wrote to the *American Architect*, on June 27, 1907 (published July 13), to the effect that he had been employed by Buffington in 1883, and had suggested that walls of tall buildings be reinforced with iron, but that Buffington laughed at the idea and termed it "crazy construction." These statements have not been confirmed, but, if true, leave the possibility that Buffington was already thinking of patenting his scheme and merely concealing his own ideas.

In the *Memoirs* he writes in the preface, "I drew up my first application for patents in 1882 and the final one in 1887 from the original invention made in 1880." These memoirs were written late in life and it is possible that his memory was at fault. The United States Patent Office has no record in its file of any attempt on Buffington's part to patent a skyscraper before the patent granted in 1888. It may be that Buffington's "first application" refers rather to his conferences with patent attorneys than to any formal application, for a long search through previous patents would naturally precede an application.

In Chapter XIV (entitled *Remember These Facts*) of the *Memoirs* he writes: "My cloudscraper is 1320 feet high, designed in 1882. My skyscraper is 600 feet high, designed 1882. My twenty eight story building, including the slanting roof, is 425 feet high, designed 1881." The dates were added in ink to the typewritten manuscript. They form the nucleus of the whole problem.³

In Chapter IX of the *Memoirs*, Buffington gives an account of his invention from which it will be well to quote at length. "It was in the winter of the years 1880 and 1881 that there came to my office from the publisher, two volumes of a translation of Viollet Le Duc's discourses on Architecture, and when my team came for me that evening I took these books home.

3. So much hinges on Buffington's accuracy that it may be well to consider his reliability. Certainly, he was anything but an irresponsible, fly-by-night architect. That he was made a Fellow of the American Institute of Architects indicates his standing in the profession. He had a wide practice, extending from New Hampshire to Wyoming and from Kentucky to Canada, and must have had a large office in the 1880's at his prime. He was responsible for at least five buildings on the main campus of the University of Minnesota; for the old state capitols of Minnesota, North Dakota, and West Virginia; for the old Post Office in Minneapolis; for the Union Station in St. Paul; and for hotels, residences, and business buildings, too numerous to mention. With his great physical and intellectual vigor, he combined an inventiveness which produced several devices, such as an acetylene lamp he patented. To judge from his writings, his was the vigorous conviction of the advocate rather than the calm impartiality of the historian. In many instances he wrote definitely to prove a point, namely that he was the inventor of the skyscraper. Late in life he suffered from the feeling that he was not fairly treated because he was a Middle-Western architect; he felt this prevented him from winning such competitions as that for the Cathedral of St. John the Divine;

further, and chiefly, he felt defrauded of his just credit for the invention of metal construction.

But there is no reason to believe Buffington deliberately misrepresented facts. With him, who did not pretend to be a detached scholar, it was a case of putting the most favorable interpretation on things and of occasional inaccuracy. For example, in Chapter XV of the *Memoirs*, he speaks of the Home Insurance Building as eight stories high, to which two other stories were added later. He gives its date as 1885. The date of a building may mean any one of three things: the award of the commission, or the judgment of the competition when there is one; the inception of construction; or the completion of the building. Buffington's date is right for the last, which is undoubtedly the most advantageous for his argument. He says of the same building, "it has neither braced skeleton nor shelf." Strictly speaking, it had no shelves, the masonry of the walls being carried, as we have seen, on spandrel beams. Also, as his definition of the skyscraper specifies "a braced skeleton," he could consistently refuse to recognize the Home Insurance Building as a skyscraper. But there are other passages where he is definitely in error, as his denial that the Tacoma Building in Chicago and the Tower Building in New York had braced skeletons or shelves.

"It was several nights before I could look at them, for I was very busy throughout the day, and in the evening I would often drive with my family to rest and ponder over my daily business, so when I picked them [up] and glanced through them, as is my habit before I start to read any book of real merit, I studied the illustrations, first in one and then in the other volume, and stopped, by intuition, luck or mere chance, on page 128 Volume 2, for right there before me was the word IRON staring me in the face, and I read:

A practical architect might not unnaturally conceive the idea of erecting a vast edifice whose frame should be entirely of iron, and clothing that frame, preserving it by means of a casing of stone.

"This sentence seemed most remarkable, so I laid the book down and thought of this large building, clothed with masonry. What could it mean? Again I took up this volume and further along I read:

But it cannot be too often repeated, Iron should be left independent. It cannot be allied to masonry.

"Here I was back in the same hole I came out of. I could conceive very clearly of a tower or a bridge pier of iron, but the construction of an iron building was entirely different. I had to deal with many windows and doors, the elevator system and stairs, and the architecture on the exterior. While it all seems very clear now, it certainly was a complicated problem then.

"The lot of an architect who had to use unseasoned lumber and poor brick in those days was not so rosy as today, when he has steel columns and beams, but here was a chance to find something better in building, and I went at it with a will; and many nights and Sundays at home with other work forgotten, I sat in my library and puzzled and studied over the vast edifice. I looked through all the data books of the iron and steel rolling mill manufacturers, and through all the handbooks of the architects and engineers, and through the Public Library and other sources of information.

"I then had a search made in the United States Patent Office and in all foreign countries for any patent, but found nothing pertaining to the supporting shelf or braced skeleton construction of metal as I have shown.

"A building whose frame should be of iron clothed with masonry was the problem I set myself to solve. This meant the front wall, the side walls, the rear wall, and the interior, a skeleton of metal. A skeleton is the principle [sic] part that supports the rest. Why not use a shelf fastened to the skeleton to carry the masonry? This was the final line along which my reason led me. I made many sketches showing various constructural designs for this building, and the studies, collected after so many years seem a waste of time on so simple an idea. So this and the next winter passed.

"In the winter of 1883-4 I took up the design of the exterior, as a working basis had to be reached before I could go any further. Finally, I decided to take a column for my model, a solid base, a plain shaft with upward lines like volutes [!], and a beautiful cap and skyline to finish. This is the design of my 28-story building. So pleased was I that I designed many others; some with more stories and others with less, but none seemed so appropriate for display as this one. My friends advised me to get it patented, so I consulted an attorney, laid the matter before him, and drew up the first application; but I was very busy and my time was taken up continually and another year passed.

"In April, 1886, the building in which I had my office was damaged by fire. Then this problem was brought face to face, and I decided that as soon as I was again settled, I would attend to it. So, in the summer of that year I prepared for the patent and used for its illustration and construction my 'twenty-eight-story building.'

"My final application for United States patent was filed November 14, 1887. The patent was issued May 22, 1888. My foreign patents, British, German and French bear the same date. My attorney made five sheets of drawings containing twenty figures and in the specification described each figure and the relation to each other, showing that I claimed the veneer supported on shelves carried by angle plates fastened to a braced skeleton of iron, protected and preserved from disintegration and corroding. The columns or posts are smaller at the top with one plate on each side, and more plates added as the weight increased toward the bottom, with lattice ties connecting them. I showed in the study drawings three different posts, one using the channel, one as per the patent, and one braced with iron rods. I made others but these three showed what could be done with the same elements. These columns formed the supporting vertical elements and the horizontal ties and braces formed the braced skeleton of metal. Each building may show a different detail of construction as required, but these essential elements, or equivalents, of my patent are used in all steel construction of today....

"The foregoing is a simple story of the skeleton of steel construction, as I have known it since 1881 and in the part I have taken as inventor."

This account is reasonably clear and definite. If one accepts it, then Buffington should receive credit for working out his idea in 1882. Still more important is the fact that a series of drawings has recently come to light which bears out this account. It may be well to describe the more interesting or important of these drawings first and to consider their significance later.

What I take to be the first of the drawings (Fig. 4) is signed *LSB 12/81* to the right of the sketch and again in the upper right-hand corner of the sheet. The figures and even the signatures are almost obliterated (invisible in the illustration) and cannot be read with certainty. This pencil drawing on cheap brownish paper possibly corroborates what he says in Chapter XIV of the *Memoirs* of having the idea in 1881. This perspective of a tower is not dissimilar in proportion to the twenty-eight-story building, but in details only faintly resembles later studies.

No elevation of that project appears in the drawings dated 1882, of which there are four in all. This tends to bear out the statement of the manuscript that he took up the question of elevation in 1883-1884. On the other hand, two sheets show the project for the hundred-story building, one signed *L S B 1882*, and the other (Fig. 5) *L S B 82*. The former is on common tracing paper, without a watermark, and contains a small elevation with several plans of thumbnail size indicating rooms arranged radially around a central shaft for stairs and elevators. Fig. 5 is on brown paper and is somewhat larger. The hundred-story perspective has the figure 82 in the corner. The building takes the general form of a Doric column on a square base, and is surmounted by several steps terminating in what appears to be a colossal figure. In addition there is a vague perspective of the fifty-story building and several further small plans elsewhere on the sheet. These are all the drawings which have

come to light in connection with the projects for these two buildings. They are no more than indications of the ideas germinating in his mind but corroborate the text. Clearly such height postulates skeleton construction, though there is no sign of it in these drawings. It is likely these projects were never carried further. Even to one with Buffington's imagination the scheme must have seemed chimerical then.

A sketch (Fig. 6) signed *L. S. B. May 1882* bears the title *Elevation of Iron Construction*. It is a more careful drawing, made with instruments for the most part, on tracing paper bearing the watermark "Crane & Co. Dalton, Mass. 1879", and shows skeleton construction in elevation and in section. Assuming the drawing to be 1/4 inch to the foot, which seems likely, the piers are 7' 6" on centers, the first practically 16' to the second floor line, the second story 13'. Diagonals are introduced between the first and second floor windows, described in writing as tie rods or braces. The supports were probably intended to be 8" square cast-iron columns, which supported the 12" iron floor beams, and similar beams in the plane of the walls above and below each window. Most important is the wall treatment which is composed of five inches of masonry on the exterior labeled *vener on shelves*. The basement is again braced with tie rods. The foundation has a stone footing of three steps under each column separately, and a cast shoe to support the column. On the reverse of the sheet, freehand sketches indicate superposed cast-iron columns, and elsewhere a substitution of channels for the I-beams in the plane of the walls; they illustrate somewhat more clearly the connection of beam or shelf and column. Rough though they are, the drawings of this sheet indicate Buffington's grasp of the fundamental point in skyscraper construction, the support of the walls by metal, and sustain his claims.

Two large plans on tracing cloth are clearly of the twenty-eight-story project in view of their similarity to later plans. That of the ground floor (Fig. 7) is signed *L. S. Buffington Architect 1882*. Its companion, showing the typical floor, is signed in the same way but without the date. Though fairly complete and definite, some of the details are less mature than in the finished project. One sees here rows of seven interior columns, bringing the middle one on the axis of the design, which would later be rectified, and careful study will reveal further discrepancies. No indication of construction exists on these drawings save the hollow squares in the brick piers for iron columns.

Questions may be raised as to the importance of these sheets and as to the use of tracing cloth. This material is seldom used for the preliminary stages of a design, though Buffington in other instances used it for what are hardly more than sketches. Its permanence makes it a natural medium for any idea which an architect may wish to preserve carefully. These plans are not construction drawings, but rather fundamental and definite arrangements which Buffington considered more or less an ideal solution for an office building. The scheme, later to be adopted in all essentials in his patent, he might regard as virtually perfected. He would not cease to try for improvement during the next five years, before his application for the patent, but he might naturally want some permanent record of these essential arrangements.

One further drawing (Fig. 8), signed *L. S. B. -82*, is a large section at 1/4" scale showing six floors and the basement of what is clearly the twenty-eight-story building. The presumption of additional stories is given at the top in the continuation of the

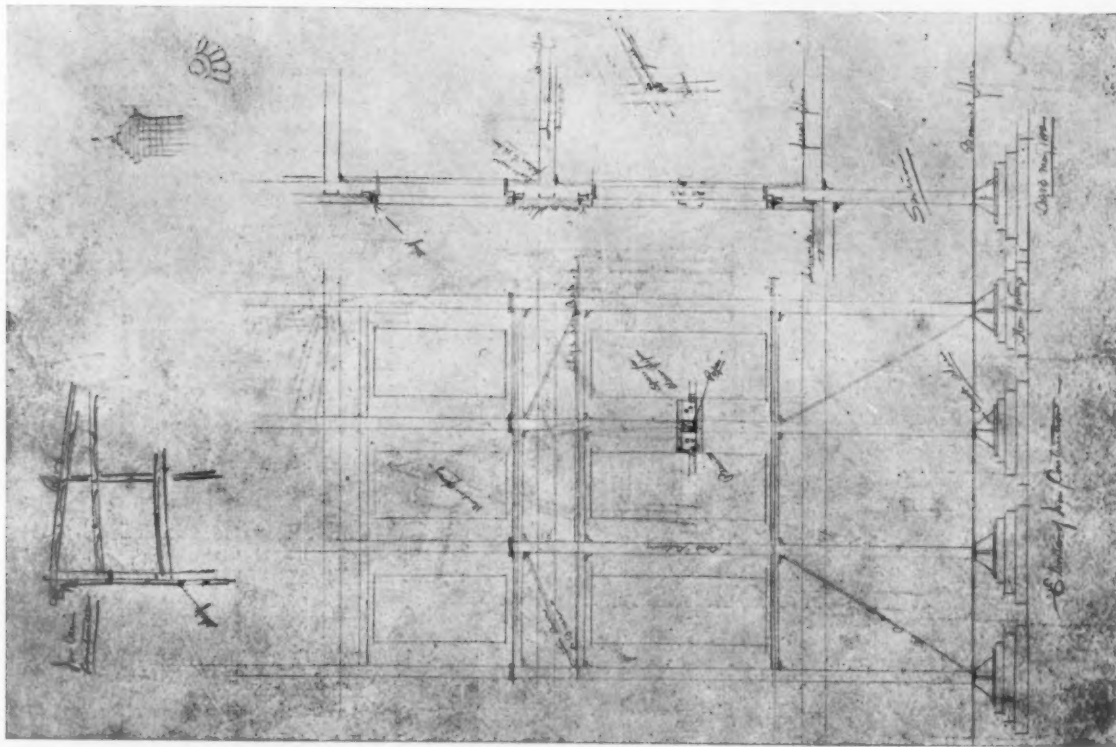
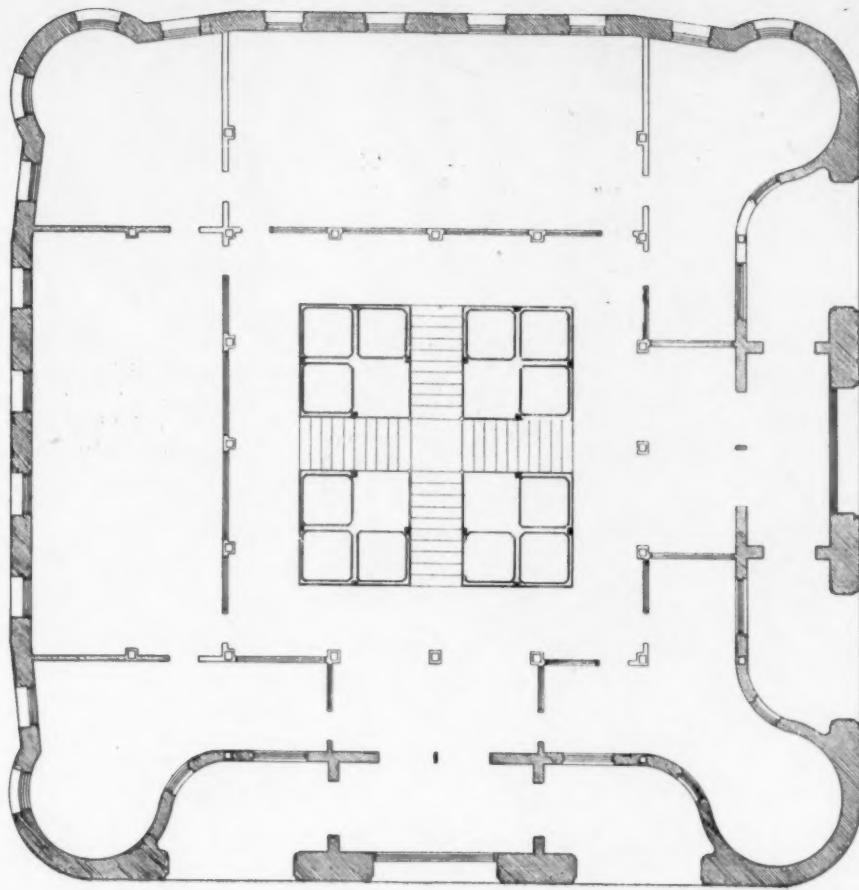


FIG. 6—Elevation of Iron Construction,
by L. S. Buffington



L. S. Buffington Architect 1872

FIG. 7—Plan of Ground Floor for Twenty-Eight-Story
Building, by L. S. Buffington

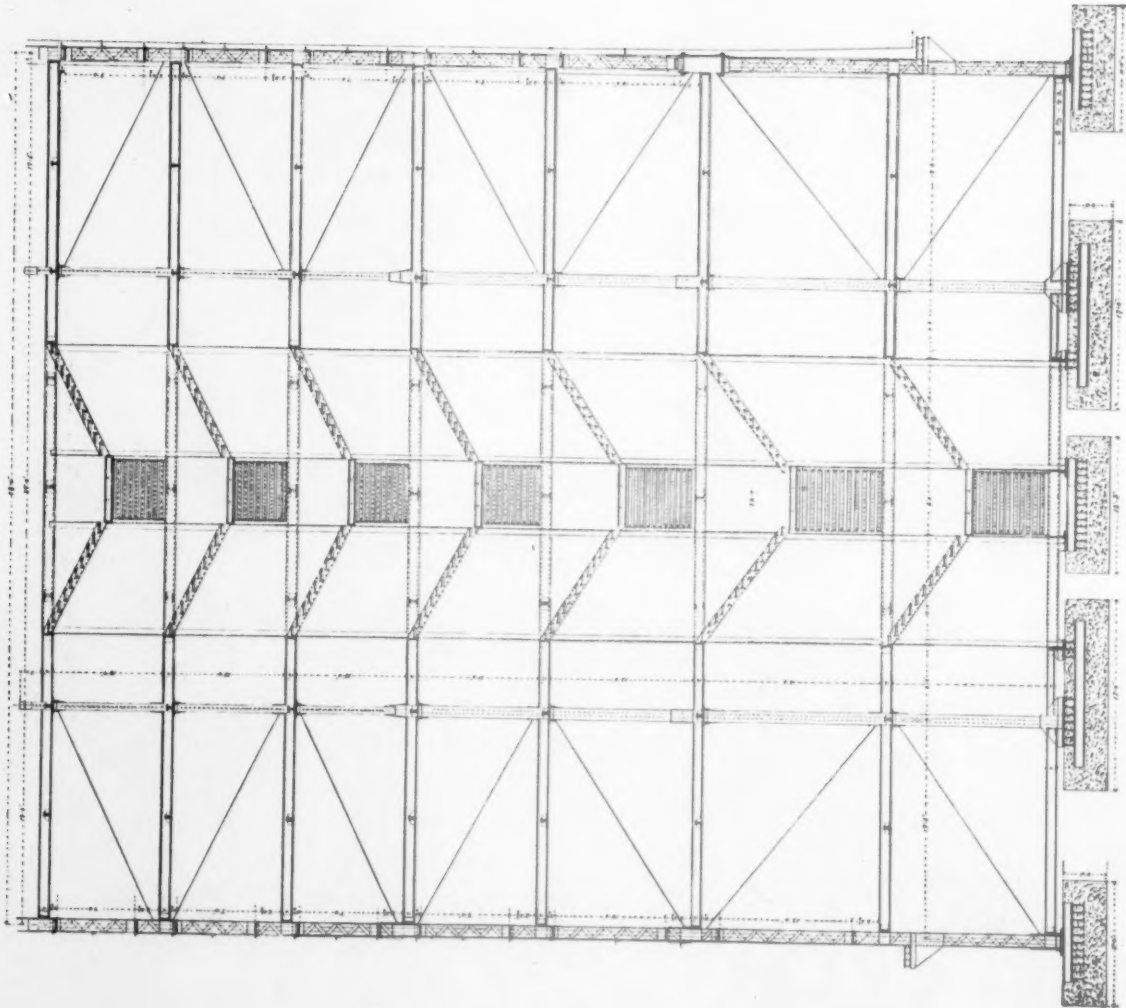


FIG. 8—Section of Six Floors for Twenty-Eight-Story Building,
by L. S. Buffington

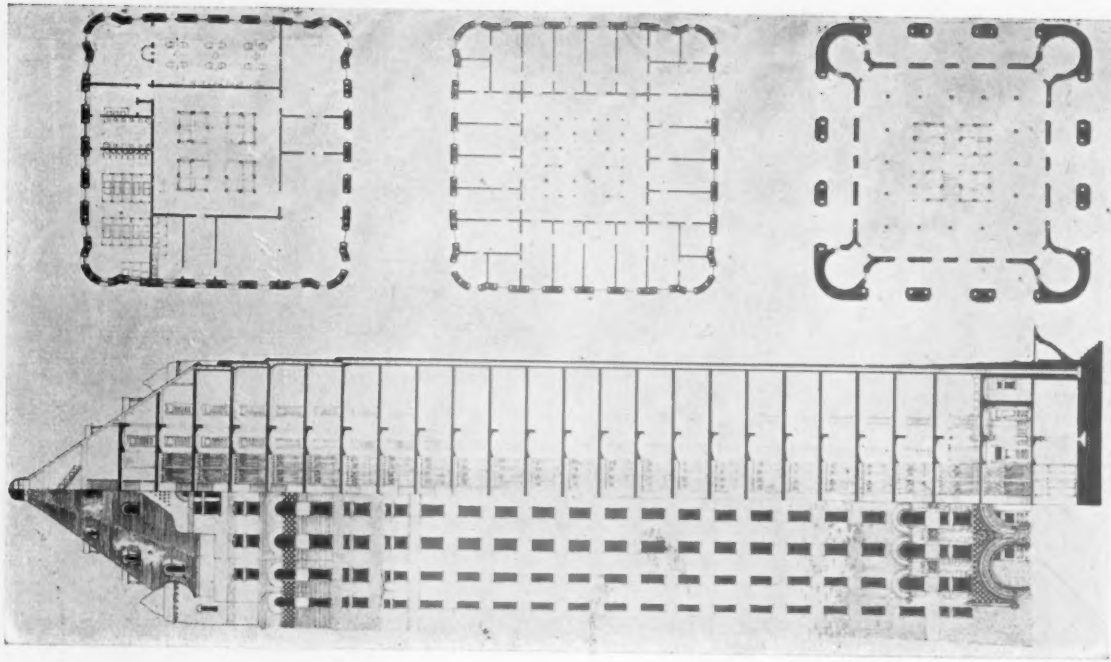


FIG. 9—Plans, Half Section, and Half Elevation
for Twenty-Eight-Story Building, by L. S. Buffington

piers. Though these diminish markedly in size above the third floor, so greatly, in fact, as to preclude the possibility of many stories above, it is extremely probable that Buffington merely intended to show on this one sheet how such contraction of the piers could be introduced when necessary, rather than that it would be adopted definitely at the fourth floor level. Diagonal bracing is present throughout, and the indication of supports for the masonry is clear. Angles are introduced at about 4' intervals. The walls are battered from the sidewalk to the third floor level, the supporting angles in the second floor being enlarged to take the additional load and also to compensate for their wider spacing. The wall on the ground floor is supported by four I-beams just below the level of the sidewalk, which are in turn held by gussets attached to piers below. Lintels over windows are carried on pairs of angles. The most important change in the superstructure between this and the previous section (Fig. 6) occurs in the columns, which are now continuous, rather than superposed, and are built up of several vertical sections, in contrast to the simple, square, cast-iron columns. The drawing has an astonishingly modern appearance, far more so than in the previous drawings and more so than any of the relevant later sketches, including those for the patent itself. It is well to observe in this connection that Buffington said his patent drawings did not show the built-up column of channels, but that other drawings made before the patent did. Another point of interest about this drawing is the indication of grillage foundations, composed of two layers of I-beams laid at right angles and embedded in concrete.

The drawings dated from 1883 on, interesting as they are in showing the gradual perfecting of the twenty-eight-story project, particularly of the elevation, have less importance historically. One sheet of brown paper (Fig. 9), signed *L.S.B. '83*, contains three plans together with a half section, half elevation. The plans differ but slightly from those of 1882, but the elevation approaches closely to that later adopted for the patent. There is but little indication of construction, though it is worth noting that the foundation seems to be a continuous solid masonry structure. Two sketchy plans on scratch paper of 1885 are unimportant. A number of drawings dated 1886, some of them on watermarked paper of 1885 and 1886, show Buffington preparing for his patent application. The most important is a perspective (Fig. 10) closely related to the elevation of the patent, from which it differs only in details which might easily be rectified between the final study and the finished drawings. It is equally close to the drawing of 1888 by Harvey Ellis, which appeared as a plate in the *Inland Architect and News Record*, July, 1888. It was Ellis' drawing (Fig. 11) which Buffington used on the cover of his pamphlet, *Buffington's Iron Building Company*, an organization incorporated in 1892 ostensibly to manufacture the frame work and other material for iron building, but probably actually to grant licenses to use the patent or prosecute the suits for infringement.

The merit of this final design of 1888 is unquestionable. The detail is the Romanesque of the time: a modernist may complain that the Richardsonian low-browed arches of the portals and of the upper stories have no proper function, and that the visible roof and the turreted corners are still archaic. On the other hand, the windows are arranged in vertical strips tying the building securely together from top to bottom. A casual glance at some characteristic early skyscrapers shows how far ahead of his

time was this work of Buffington's. The Home Insurance Building had several sections marked off crudely by orders piled on top of one another. The typical tall building of that day, such as the Masonic Temple of 1892 in Chicago (Burnham and Root), had a virtually independent composition for the upper floors, another almost equally separate unit for the lower floors, and then the two physically, but not aesthetically, connected by the mass of the structure in between. Only the fine skyscrapers of Sullivan surpassed Buffington's design during the first twenty years of study on the new problems. Its vertical bands of openings, its emphasis on mass, and the slight setbacks place it in the class which Professor Kenneth Conant has aptly described as half-modern, a transitional group between the normal eclecticism of the time and the true modern style.

We must now consider the dating of all these drawings. If the dates can be admitted, they overthrow the accepted account of the origin of the skyscraper as far as the genesis of the idea is concerned. Three conclusions are possible in regard to the dates. They may be rejected as entirely false; they may be accepted wholly as true; or some of them may be found correct and others incorrect. Let us examine these possibilities in turn.

If the dates are false, they must have been added at some later time by Buffington from memory which might have been inaccurate. For what purpose could they have been added? The obvious answer would be that he intended to use them in proving his case in the patent suits. While it is possible that these earlier drawings might have been accepted as evidence in court, the discrepancy in the dates of the drawings and that of the patent render this by no means certain. The suits for infringement were based on a patent of 1888, and, as we shall see, the court took a narrow interpretation of the patent. It might well have held that whether or not Buffington had had his idea earlier, he got his patent at the later date and only that could be considered. Moreover, there is no reason to suppose that he ever did try to make use of the drawings in this way, and, surely, had he added the dates at the time of the trial or with that in view, he would have made some attempt to do so.

He might have added the dates still later. But for what purpose? The idea that anyone would be interested in these rough sketches would have been incomprehensible to him. Like many practical men, he was not concerned with, or even aware of, possible historical value, and that anyone should wrangle over such a point would not occur to him. His lack of appreciation of the demands of historic evidence is clearly brought out in some communications with Dr. Folwell, who, in writing his monumental *History of Minnesota*, wanted to include Buffington if the latter could offer proof of his ancestry of the skyscraper. It never occurred to Buffington to do more than reiterate his claim and give his own account without providing further evidence. Had he realized the value of the drawings, even supposing them to have been undated, he certainly would have called them to Dr. Folwell's attention. It seems, therefore, most unlikely that he added the dates at a later time.

Now, let us consider Fig. 6. If one admits the possibility that Buffington was honest in his own account, there is nothing in the drawing to make the date impossible. Buffington was in the habit of using tracing paper made by Crane & Co.,

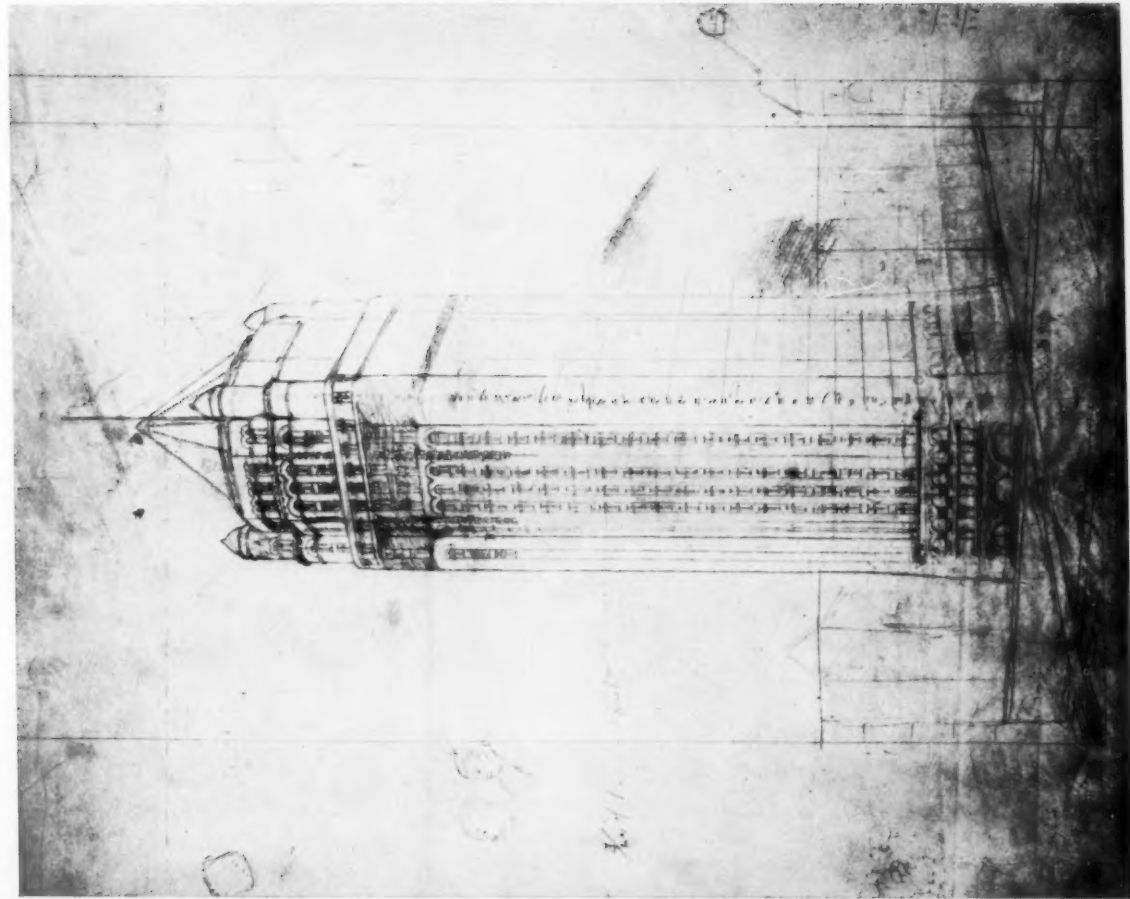
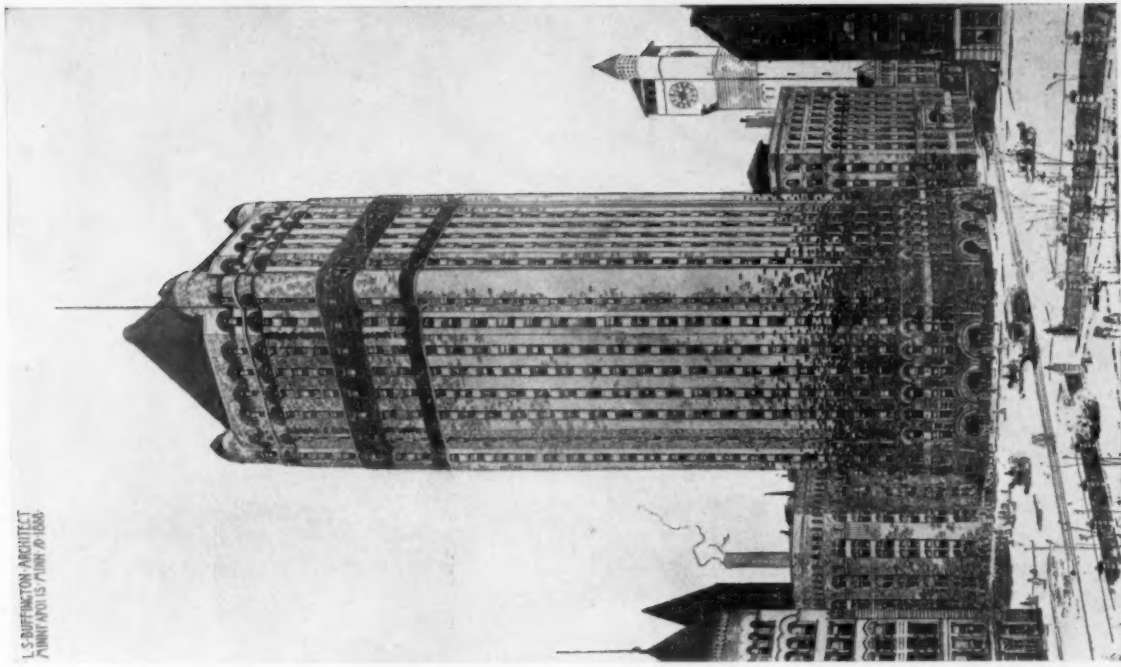


FIG. 10—Drawing for Twenty-Eight-Story Building,
by L. S. Buffington



L. S. BUFFINGTON ARCHITECT
PUNY AND IS PUNY 70-1886

FIG. 11—Design for Twenty-Eight-Story Building,
by L. S. Buffington

W. J. Fryer, Jr.

Iron Building

No. 88,453

Patented Apr. 13, 1869

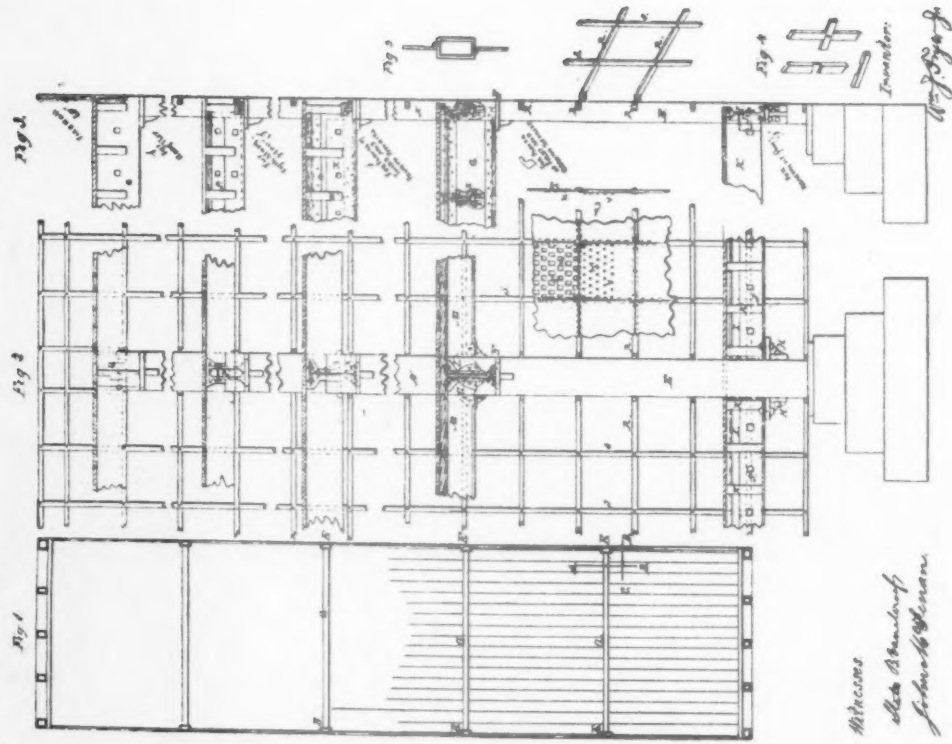


FIG. 12—Patent for Iron Building,
by W. J. Fryer, Jr.

P. J. HARDY
Application of Stone to Walls of Buildings.
No. 163,989.
Patented June 1, 1875.

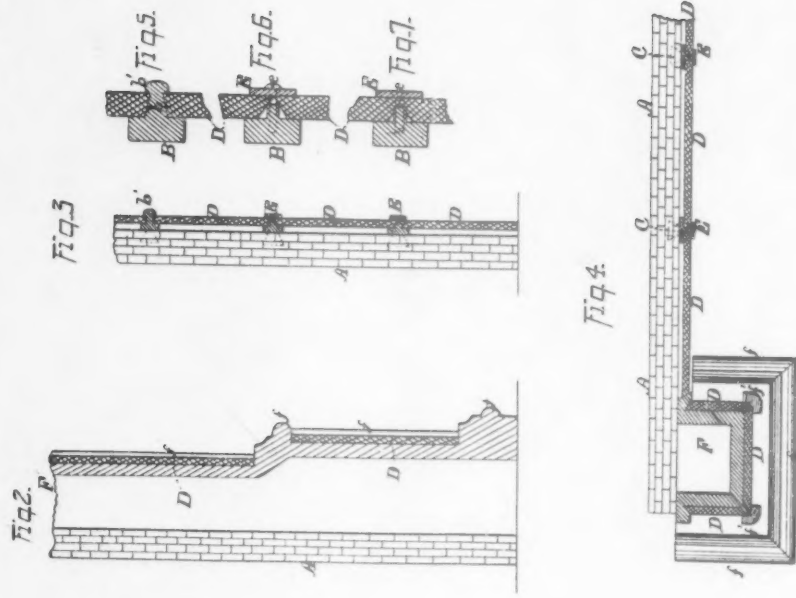


FIG. 13—Patent for Application of Stone to Walls
of Building, by P. J. Hardy

WITNESSES:
Jas. E. Hutchinson
John A. Spring
INVENTOR:
P. J. Hardy, by
Charles W. Lee, his Atty.

Dalton, Mass., whose paper bears their name and the date (1879, in this case) in the watermark. Buffington continued to use such paper for years; yet, since we have a regular series of drawings, for the skyscraper *inter alia*, bearing dated watermarks, the date of the drawing in no case lagging more than three years behind, and often being closer to, that of the watermark, it is evident that he did not lay in large stocks of paper to last a long time, but rather that he ran through his stock rapidly. Moreover, if he had dated the drawings subsequently, since he tells us in the *Memoirs* that he began working on the idea in the winter of 1880-1881, it seems probable that he would have dated this drawing 1881. Why should he sacrifice a year? He could not choose a date earlier than 1881, since it was the second volume of Viollet-le-Duc which gave him the impetus for his idea, but, if choosing a favorable date afterward, he would surely have picked the most advantageous date. Now, besides the signature and date there are a few other words in writing on the sheet. We have the opinion of an expert in handwriting that the signature and date were done at the same time as the drawing. That can be told from the shape of the letters, from the weight pressed upon the pencil, and from the angle of the lines forming the letters.

Further, there is a fairly continuous series of Buffington's signatures from the 1870's to the early 1900's. During this time, as one would expect, his handwriting shows certain features of development. For example, on only one of more than a dozen dated drawings before 1880 do we find a printed *S* for the middle initial, all the others are in script. The latest example of a script *S* on the drawings in my possession at the moment occurs in 1894 but that is of a quite different shape from the earlier ones. On drawings of 1887, 1888, 1893, 1903, and 1911 a printed *S* appears, showing a certain development between the earlier and later examples. (Something the same might be said of the *L* and *B*, though the differences between the earlier and the later signatures are too subtle to point out in words.) On the plan dated 1882 (Fig. 7), however, the initials are identical with those on Fig. 6, and in addition the word *Architect* appears. This is important since he generally signed his works with this addition, especially the more finished ones. A comparison once more of this word on the earlier and later drawings leaves no room for doubt that that signature comes when it is supposed to come. Finally, it may be observed that in 1882 Buffington was thirty-five years old. As he grew older, his handwriting became stiffer, lacking the looseness and freedom of his earlier signatures. If it is ever possible to see a man's age in his handwriting, one may surely see here in Figs. 6 and 7 something fairly youthful. Had these signatures been added in the 1890's, one should expect them to exhibit the characteristics of the drawings of 1893 and 1894, which they do not. If they were done later, toward the end of his life, one should expect signs of age, especially since his last years were none too happy, but the signatures in question show no such weakening.

Enough has been said to show that evidence of the signatures and handwriting, coupled with the account in the *Memoirs*, indicates that Figs. 6 and 7 are correctly dated, the more so when one takes into account the very important evidence of the watermark on Fig. 6. Consequently, the first of our three possibilities, that all of the dates are false, is eliminated.

When we turn to the second, that all of the dates are correct, we must examine Fig. 8 with particular care. We have already seen that the drawing has a surprisingly modern aspect. With this single exception the drawings can be arranged in a very satisfactory and logical sequence showing the development of the structure and design of the project as it formed itself in Buffington's mind from 1881 down to the patent in 1888. In some respects Fig. 8 could fit in also: it is experimental, rather than finished, and it would bear out the manuscript in the matter of the piers, as noted before. But a serious obstacle to accepting its date appears in the foundation.

In 1872 Frederick Baumann produced a pamphlet, *The Method of Constructing Foundations on Isolated Piers*. The illustrations show stone footings of the type used in Fig. 6. Buffington almost certainly knew this pamphlet, which was rather widely circulated; isolated piers had, in any case, been so used, though in exceptional instances only. But, in the first chapter of Freitag's *Architectural Engineering* (p. 5), we read that the first use of iron embedded in concrete foundations occurred in the Montauk Block, 1881-1882, by Burnham and Root. Railroad rails were employed there where the height needed for a stone footing would have been undesirable. These rails appear once more and also I-beams, with a similar purpose, in the Rookery Building by the same architects, 1885-1886 (Freitag, p. 7). But in Fig. 8 a very clear indication of a fully developed grillage foundation confronts us in a drawing dated 1882! We could argue that the step from isolated masonry foundations to grillage foundations would not be impossible for an architect who was employing iron so extensively in new structural ways elsewhere, and that it is quite possible that Buffington thought of this scheme, either without fully realizing its significance or, more likely, preferring to concentrate on other matters, such as his braced frame with shelves to support the masonry. That Freitag makes no mention of Buffington's foundation is but natural since no publicity has ever been given to these drawings. In fact, it is doubtful whether they have been seen by any but Buffington's intimate friends until the present time. If Buffington knew the Montauk Block, and he visited Chicago frequently, this next step is certainly not great. None the less, when we take the foundation into account, along with the general modernity of the drawing and the fact that it stands out from other drawings in the group, we are inclined to be suspicious of the date. The arguments in favor of the drawing (the signature is printed and so does not help us) consist in the parallel between this and Buffington's manuscript in the matter of the piers, and in the similarity to other drawings of this period in arrangement; but these could be explained away by assuming that the drawing was executed later in the 1880's and dated still later from memory. That initials and incorrect date are here added later is the safer, though by no means certain hypothesis.

If this is true, the second possibility, that all of the dates are correct, vanishes, leaving only the third, that some are accurate and some are not. Excepting Fig. 8, we do not find the datings questionable. The arguments which applied to the script signature on Fig. 6 apply with equal force to others, and in several instances are supported by watermarks corresponding to the dates. Fig. 9, being on eggshell paper, has no watermark, nor has it script initials, but the character of the drawing,

its position in the sequence, and the absence of any suspicious features enable us to place it in the group. In Fig. 5 we have the case of a sheet dated twice, once within the frame and once below. Possibly he dated the hundred-story building as he framed it, then other schemes occurred to him and he indicated the fifty-story building, automatically dating the sheet again. This seems perfectly natural, and why should a person, going over a series of old drawings, either date a sheet twice or add a date to a paper already bearing one?

To recapitulate, we are obliged to accept most of the datings. Their rejection would involve impossible assumptions of dishonesty and cunning on Buffington's part: he would have had to seek out various old paper, imitate earlier handwriting, represent archaic construction, and fabricate a historical consistency running through his drawings and manuscripts. The series of drawings presents a long, logical development, agreeing with the *Memoirs* and free (excepting Fig. 8) from anachronisms. The character and condition of the dated signatures, the watermarks of the paper and the evolutionary sequence of the drawings, all agree in confirming the dates.⁴

If they are accepted Buffington deserves credit for having thought of supporting the masonry on a metal frame and of bracing the frame, the two ideas of construction without which a skyscraper is impossible. Fig. 6, of 1882, shows these two ideas beyond question. Some future evidence may prove that another man had the ideas still earlier, but in Fig. 6 Buffington is shown to have anticipated Jenney by a year, and to have expressed the ideas more fully.

The question remains why Buffington did not make application for his patent until 1887 if he had the ideas in 1882. The obvious answer is that he was extremely busy throughout this decade, and particularly in its earlier years. His ideas required study and time, which he states in his *Memoirs* he was unable to give. Very probably Buffington saw no need for haste, since apparently no one had thought of anything similar. He was wrong to delay, for someone might readily think of a similar system in view of the rapid expansion of the iron industries. But his explanation in the *Memoirs* seems sufficient to explain the delay.

It may be well to examine the first of many fruitless suits for infringement of the patent brought against various individuals from 1892 on. The bill of complaint in the suit of Buffington's Iron Building Company vs. William E. Eustis was filed on Dec. 10, 1892. The decision against Buffington is to be found in the *Federal Reporter*, vol. 65, p. 92. The answer to the bill of complaint cited the article in the *Sanitary Engineer* on the Home Insurance Building among other things, as proof that the patent had been anticipated in actual practice. To the non-legal mind, this might seem to be the crux of the matter; but no importance is attached to it in the evidence offered by, or in the brief of, the attorney for the defense, which rested its case almost entirely on certain patents which were alleged to have employed the devices claimed by Buffington in his patent. The particular points on which infringement was claimed were 7, 8, and 13 of the patent:

4. The series of drawings answer Fitzpatrick's letter mentioned above. They also lend some support to Buffington's statement that Jenney saw the drawings

for the project in 1883 and adopted the ideas in the Home Insurance Building on his return to Chicago.

7. In a building-frame, a series of continuous framing-posts composed of metal plates secured with their flat sides together and breaking joints, in combination with girts and tie beams secured thereto at each floor, substantially as set forth.

8. The combination, with the laminated posts, of the continuous girts secured thereto, and the tie beams, also secured thereto and to one another, substantially as set forth.

13. The combination, with the posts and girts, of the angle-plates connecting them and forming supports for the veneer shelves.

The expert testimony on both sides seemed to occupy itself almost entirely with an examination of the twenty-two patents which the defense brought forward as anticipating the Buffington patent. Of these, the only two which were taken at all seriously, even by the defense, were the Fryer and Hardy patents.

The Fryer patent was intended to "provide iron walls in substitution for brick, together with a system of columns and cross-girders, for sustaining the floor beams." Fig. 12 shows this patent, which by a lattice arrangement of iron bars formed a scheme far closer to metal lath than to a veneer of masonry. Plates of iron were to be hung on this lattice, which plates might then be plastered over according to the testimony of the defense. The essential point of Buffington's invention was the support of masonry walls on metal, which this patent avows not to be its intention. The skeleton within is, to be sure, similar to that employed by Buffington, but this system of posts and girders was not new even in 1869, still less in 1888. It was, in fact, common practice at both of these dates. Contrary to the statements of the witnesses for the defense, we believe that the Fryer patent has absolutely no bearing on the Buffington patent and does not anticipate the latter in any way.

If this is true of the Fryer patent, it is even more true of the Hardy patent. Fig. 13 shows that, although slabs of marble or other material were held by a metal frame, this frame was itself supported by a brick wall, which did the essential work of holding up the building. It is ridiculous to hold that a veneer supported by masonry, even through an intervening series of metal members, in any way anticipates a veneer held by a self-supporting metal frame.

The court, taking a narrow point of view, decided that there had been no infringement on points 7, 8, or 13, and dismissed the case. It held that the narrow view was necessary since a broad view would make the patent anticipated by the Fryer, Hardy, and other earlier patents. The trial hardly touched the real problem of the origin of the skyscraper. Point 7 of the patent is concerned with the posts that Buffington shows in his drawings to be made up of a series of metal plates. Not only was this the poorest part of the patent, uneconomical of material, but in the development of the skyscraper it was not essential. (If continuous piers were essential the Home Insurance Building must be ruled out.) Point 8, concerning the combination of the posts and girts, is also not significant. Point 13 is the one upon which the real contention should have rested because of the indication of supported shelves for carrying the masonry veneer. Those interested will find that Eustis had employed channels rather than shelves in the strict interpretation of the term, which one may conclude to be the reason the court ruled against Buffington here. The decision states: "It is doubtful if Buffington's patent is not merely for an aggregation of separate elements, as distinguished from a patentable combination; but if it be the latter, then, in view of the state of the art, it must be restricted

and limited to the precise form and arrangement described in his specification." Eustis' building was an adaptation, and a rather close one, but not an exact copy of the Buffington patent. The changes were merely those which would ordinarily take place in any new building. However, the suit was lost, and, perhaps partly in consequence, all later suits were lost also. Buffington would have had a better chance had his patent been drawn up in somewhat more general terms. In view of the very specific wording, it was easy to hold to the letter without taking into consideration the principles upon which the patent rested, and that goes far to explain the inability of Buffington to sustain his claims in court.

There only remains to be considered the popularization of the new construction, which, with the qualified exception of the Home Insurance Building, had not been employed before Buffington's patent. After 1888, and very shortly after too, a whole crop of buildings appear with this form of construction, in Chicago, St. Louis, New York, and elsewhere. A partial explanation is the activity of the iron industry at this time. Architects of New York, Detroit, Boston, and even Chicago, testify that in 1888 this construction was not generally known. Several of them, including James J. Egan, of Chicago, say that they think they first learned of the possibility of skeleton construction from Buffington's pamphlet, or from the *Northwestern Architect*, both in 1888, and before they saw it in the Tacoma Building. John C. Spofford, of Boston, and Elijah E. Myers, of Detroit, give substantially the same account. That none of these men claim to have known of this method before 1888 is significant as showing that its use, in essence, in the Home Insurance Building, escaped their attention.

The *Memoirs* run as follows: "In March before I received my patent papers, I published in the *Northwestern Architect*, of Minneapolis, Minnesota, an illustrated pamphlet, describing my method of construction for the 28-story building, and distributed about 2500 of these pamphlets to architects, engineers, contractors, manufacturers, and others interested in building in the United States.

"In June, 1888, after my patent had been issued, I published in the *Inland Architect*, of Chicago, a pen and ink perspective of my 28-story building, with full description. This description was copied all over the world."

These publications were greeted with a chorus of ridicule from all over the country. The New York *Sun* was one of the most charitable in saying, "L. S. Buffington, of Minneapolis, an architect, who is building that wonderful building on paper, which is to be twenty-eight stories high. To be sure, this is probably the production of a crank, but the cranks of one generation are sometimes the prophets of the next." This at least left the door open for escape in case the idea should turn out to be workable, but there was not a hint of previous knowledge of anything similar. The *Architectural News* was more scathing: "L. S. Buffington, an architect, claims to have invented a system of construction to build buildings of iron. He does not know that the expansion and contraction of iron would crack all the plaster; that in a few years there would be only the shell left. Iron is good in its place, but not to build buildings entirely of." Let us hope that a few years later the editor had his attention called to this item in connection with the Wainwright Building in St. Louis or the Masonic Temple in Chicago. The quotation is the more important because

from a trade journal. A daily of general circulation is excusable for ignorance on a technical point, but an architectural publication should have known better or else have been more temperate in its judgment. Five year later, when Buffington started his suits, the tune had changed. The system was widely recognized and accepted, but even then the Home Insurance Building was not generally brought forward as an anticipation. As Buffington's scheme was new in 1888 and his ideas treated as visionary or revolutionary, we cannot but conclude that the reprints of his article in the *Northwestern Architect*, widely circulated through the profession, were responsible in considerable measure for the diffusion of the knowledge of this form of construction. His was the work of publicizing the idea.

To sum up, then, we said near the beginning of this paper that there were three awards of honor to be considered. First, Col. W. L. B. Jenney in his design for the Home Insurance Building, the competition for which was won in 1883, must retain the honor of building the first skyscraper. Secondly, honor is also due him who first conceived this revolutionary construction which has made possible the towering structures characteristic of American cities and who first appreciated its advantages. That this man was Buffington is, we feel, proved inasmuch as he conceived skeleton construction in 1882, which antedates the Home Insurance Building. And thirdly, it was the publicity given to his twenty-eight-story building which was responsible in large part for the spread of the knowledge of this form of construction in the architectural world.

THE MINOR MASTERS OF THE CHIOSTRO VERDE

By GEORG PUDELKO

THE fresco cycle in the Chiostro Verde of S. Maria Novella at Florence, which has for its subjects stories from the Old Testament commencing with the Creation of Animals and including the Lives of Abraham and Jacob, has never been treated in detail, although it probably constitutes the most comprehensive narrative of its kind in Italian painting of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The deplorable condition of the frescoes, executed in *terra verde*, with scarcely a touch of other color (the sky of each field is a deep wine red), may have contributed to the causes for this neglect. And the famous scenes by Uccello, which belong to the series, overshadow the rest, leaving them to be dismissed with the very vague and not altogether justifiable attribution to the school of Paolo Uccello.¹ To this great master of the early Renaissance belong the first bay, with the Creation of Animals, the Creation of Adam and Eve, and Fall of Man (first half of the thirties), and also the fourth bay with the Deluge, the Sacrifice of Noah, and the Drunkenness (about 1446).²

DELLO DELLI

Almost all the scenes on the east side of the cloister are today in such a fragmentary condition that any judgment is rendered impossible.³ The second bay, with the Expulsion from Paradise and the subsequent Lives of Adam and Eve (the lower zone with the Sacrifices of Cain and Abel and the Murder of Abel is almost entirely destroyed) is an exception (Figs. 1, 6), and so is also the third bay with the following in part heavily restored scenes: The Blind Lamech Kills his Great-grandfather, Noah

1. Berenson (*Italian Pictures...*, Oxford, 1932, p. 195) calls the frescoes here given to Dello Delli "close to Uccello," and the others "between Lorenzo Monaco and Bicci di Lorenzo, on the one hand, and Uccello, on the other." Van Marle, *The Development of the Italian Schools of Painting*, X, p. 230, gives Uccello's fresco of the Creation and the Expulsion from Eden to the same hand, belonging to the school of Uccello, and the bay with the Construction of the Ark, etc. (see *op. cit.*, fig. 149) to another unknown follower of Uccello. The frescoes of the south side he describes as "inspired by the art of Uccello," and those of the west side as by "an artist who still belongs to the tradition of the fourteenth century." Milanesi (see Vasari, *Le Vite*, ed. Milanesi, II, 1878, pp. 158-160) was the first to rightly distinguish the various hands. He also describes the scenes with sufficient accuracy. According to him, scenes I to X on the south side are by one master; scenes XI and XII, hardly decipherable because of their condition, are by a second master, who is nearer to Uccello and seems to be of better quality; scenes XIII and XIV on the west side are, according to Vasari,

by Dello Delli; and scenes XV to XXIV are by yet a fourth hand.

2. These frescoes by Uccello are illustrated in my article, *The Early Works of Paolo Uccello*, in *The Art Bulletin*, XVI (1934), pp. 231 ff.

3. The fifth bay, with the Building of the Tower of Babel, is partially preserved, with a few figures in outline, and similarly the sixth bay, whose subject cannot be deciphered. They probably belong to "Pseudo-Ambrogio Baldese." Above the height of a meter from the ground all the frescoes are entirely gone. Their complete disappearance, unless an extensive restoration is undertaken, is merely a matter of time. When they were photographed by Alinari and by Brogi considerably more was in existence. This essay had just been finished when Prof. M. Salmi published an important and interesting article (*Aggiunte al Trecento e Quattrocento fiorentino*, in *Rivista d'arte*, XVI (1934), pp. 168-186), dealing with the frescoes in the Chiostro Verde. He follows Milanesi's division among the various artists who took part in the frescoes.

Receives the Command to Build the Ark (Fig. 2), and, less well preserved, the Entry of the Animals into the Ark (Fig. 2, bottom).⁴ Obviously, all these belong to the same master, who, while he still thinks in general along the lines of the art of the Trecento, has superficially taken over certain elements of Uccello's style, as we see, for example, in the wooded landscape and in the representation of animals. There is also a Tuscan plasticity in the coarse figures with their none too successful movements; and there are many parallels, especially in the facial types, with Masolino. But the poor draftsmanship of the figures and the way in which landscape and figures are juxtaposed with little relationship between them are quite unflorentine, so that the influence of Jacopo della Quercia's door relief at Bologna has already been cited with regard to this work.⁵

Vasari informs us that Dello Delli painted in the Chiostro Verde "the story of Isaac when he gave his blessing to Esau," and documents at least consolidate the fact of the painter's presence at that time (in the year 1446) in Florence.⁶ This scene, like the others in the same bay, is so far destroyed that it can only be submitted to a superficial stylistic analysis. Dello Delli, born in Florence in 1404, was to be found at Siena in 1424 and in 1427 at Venice, and matriculated on January 26, 1432, in the Arte de' Medici e Speziali at Florence, only to depart to Spain in the following year.⁷ Here he rose, so the old sources tell us, to considerable fame as a painter, and received the dignity of knighthood. After a temporary return to Florence from 1446 to, probably, 1448, he seems to have gone back to Spain for good. Filarete mentions him in his treatise of about 1465 as among the painters still living at the time.

There have been many unconvincing attempts to refer various pictures to Dello Delli.⁸ In Spain in the cathedral at Salamanca the fresco of the *Last Judgment*

4. Illustrated by Van Marle, *op. cit.*, X, fig. 149.

5. J. Lényi, *Quercia-Studien*, in *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*, 1930, pp. 54-55.

6. This was mentioned as by Dello Delli in the following early sources: *Libro di Ant. Billi*, ed. Frey, Berlin, 1892, p. 49; *Il Codice Magliabechiano*, ed. Frey, 1892, pp. 95-96; *Anonimo Gaddiano*, ed. Fabriczy, 1893, p. 66; Rosini, *Storia della pittura italiana*, II (1840), p. 244, reproduces a drawing of this scene.

7. Georg Gronau, *Il primo soggiorno di Dello Delli in Spagna* in *Rivista d'arte*, X (1932), pp. 385 ff. For the documents see also: Colnaghi, *Dictionary of Florentine Painters*, London, 1928, p. 86; Milanesi, *Sulla storia dell'arte toscana*, in *Scritti vari*, Siena, 1872, p. 274; W. Weisbach, in *Thieme-Becker, Künstler-Lexikon*, IX, pp. 27-28. Certain missing pictures in Spain are enumerated by F. Quilleed, *Les arts italiens en Espagne*, Rome, 1824, p. 2. Milanesi (*op. cit.*, II, p. 147) quotes a document from which it appears that Dello executed a peal of bells for the clock tower at Siena in 1425. In Florence also certain sculptures were ascribed to him: a terracotta Pietà in the Pellegrino Chapel at the SS. Annunziata (see Tonini, *SS. Annunziata*, Florence, 1876, p. 217), and twelve apostles in S. Maria Nuova (see Richa, *Notizie istoriche*, 1755, VIII, p. 202).

8. M. Salmi (see *Un'epoca giovanile di Dello Delli*,

in *Rivista d'arte*, XI, 1929, pp. 104 ff.) ascribes to him a battle cassone in the museum at Altenburg (no. 411), which is rightly given by Berenson (*op. cit.*, p. 339) to the Master of the Bambino Vispo. G. Fiocco in *L'Arte di Mantegna*, Bologna, 1927, followed by C. Gamba in *Dedalo*, VIII, p. 219, sees the hand of Dello Delli in certain pictures (Bergamo, Martyrdom of St. Lucy and of St. Apollonia, and Bassano, Martyrdom of a Saint), which R. Longhi, with greater probability, refers to the early period of Antonio Vivarini (see *Vita artistica*, 1926, p. 130). The Coronation in the lunette over the door of S. Maria Nuova at Florence is put forward by Fiocco, not too convincingly, as a sculpture of Dello Delli (see *Dello Delli scultore*, in *Rivista d'arte*, 1929, pp. 25 ff.) Prof. Salmi has recently (*op. cit.*) reiterated his former attribution of the battle scene at Altenburg to Dello. An Annunciation in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (no. 4), which Prof. Salmi also gives to Dello (*op. cit.*, p. 182, fig. 9), may be, in my opinion, by the same graceful artist as a St. George and the Dragon at Edinburgh (van Marle, *op. cit.*, IX, fig. 342, as Domenico di Bartolo, R. Longhi, in *Pinacotheca*, 1928, p. 38, as "seguito diretto di Paolo Uccello"). These two delightful little works show a close connection with Fra Angelico and his school as well as certain Uccelleque elements (see G. Pudelko, *Der Meister der Karlsruher Anbetung*, in *Festschrift zu*



FIG. 1—*Expulsion from Paradise*



FIG. 2—*Lamech Kills his Great-grandfather; Noah Commanded to Build the Ark*
Florence, S. Maria Novella, Chiostro Verde: Frescoes by Dello Delli



FIG. 3—*Christ, and Angels with Symbols of the Passion*

Salamanca, Cathedral; Details of Fresco of the Last Judgment by Dello Delli



FIG. 4—*St. John the Baptist*

(Figs. 3, 4) in the vault of the apse was commissioned, according to the documents, to a certain Niccolò Fiorentino on the 5th of December, 1445.⁹ The high altar with its fifty-three scenes of the life of Christ (Fig. 5), still in its original place, is mentioned in the same document as being already completed. It is thought that this Niccolò Fiorentino may be identified with our Dello Delli, who seems to have lived in Spain under the name of his father.

The marked stylistic differences between the earlier altarpiece and the fresco in the vault are highly significant, and have led Gomez Moreno to the justifiable conclusion that the latter was executed after Dello's last visit to Florence. In the panels of the retable a purely Trecentesque spirit is still evident. The work amounts merely to an amusing epic narration, unalloyed by any effort to attack the new problems of the Quattrocento. There is a Sienese charm of narration, a Florentine attempt to obtain perspective foreshortening, a borrowing from the gentle art of Lorenzo Monaco in drapery and figure types, and a certain Venetian and North Italian character in the architecture. All this is interwoven—under a strong influence from the Flemish-Burgundian international artistic current—with the traditional Spanish formulae, which entirely predominate in many of the scenes that were probably executed by local followers of the master. In many cases the Spanish imprint is stronger than the imposed Italian characteristics. If we bear in mind the artistic developments in Dello's native Florence we must rank the work stylistically with others executed before and around 1430. On the other hand, the style of the fresco, with the new, statuesque, grandiose plastic figures, evinces an acquaintance with the fully developed Tuscan art of the Renaissance. Most impressive of all is the figure of the Judge with His grandly dramatic movement and the position of the foreshortened arm in marked *contrapposto*, with its very effective gesture of condemnation.¹⁰ It is only necessary to turn to Uccello's earlier frescoes in the Chiostro Verde, such as the Fall of Man, to account for the origin of this style. The head of Christ (Fig. 3) shows a strong resemblance to that of Adam in its broad outline and in the bend of the neck. The singularly muscleless, structureless representation of the nude with its unsuccessful foreshortening and *contrapposto* recur precisely in the figure of Adam in the Expulsion from Paradise. Identical too is the soft, vague treatment of the drapery, which is summarily expressed by means of peculiar, broad, dissolving patches of light. A comparison should be made between the angel in the Expulsion from Eden

A. Goldschmidt's 70. *Geburtstage*, Berlin, 1934, p. 111, note 1). In the same article (p. 181 f., figs. 10-13) Prof. Salmi notes the recently discovered fresco fragments in the Convent of S. Maria Novella, which may be by Dello, but in that case they would belong to the earlier period of his activity in the Chiostro Verde, about 1432. Prof. Salmi dates these frescoes and the scenes of the story of Jacob. about 1446, certainly too late in consideration of the strong influence of Uccello received by Dello during his second Florentine period. In another place (*Bollettino d'arte*, XXVIII (1934), p. 8, fig. 11) Prof. Salmi has himself noted the strong relation between the head of the prophet Samuel at Salamanca and the figure of Ham in the Drunkenness of Noah by Uccello.

9. M. Gómez-Moreno in *Archivo español de arte*

y *archeologia*, IV, 1928, pp. 5 ff., with illustrations of all the panels and of the fresco. See also M. Gómez-Moreno in *Bollettino della soc. castellana de Esecurs.*, Valladolid, June, 1905.

10. This noble gesture of condemnation, which anticipates Michelangelo's formula in the Sistine Chapel, can hardly, if one judges from other figures of Dello Delli, be an independent creation of his. The question arises whether we can see in the nude figure of Christ at least, if not also in the composition as a whole, an imitation of Masaccio in the Last Judgment, indicated by Albertini (*Memoriale*, p. 13) as to be seen in the second cloister of the Convento degli Angeli, which may also have influenced the similar compositions of Vecchietta and Giovanni di Paolo, and to a lesser degree, those of Fra Angelico.

(Fig. 1) and those in the Last Judgment (Fig. 3). How like, too, is the structure of the head in the blind Lamech (Fig. 2) to that of St. John at Salamanca (Fig. 4) and again the long, narrow, facial oval of Eve (Fig. 6) to that of the maid behind the bed in the panel of the Birth of Mary (Fig. 5)! The undecided grip of the hands, e. g. those of Adam, recurs also more or less closely at Salamanca in the angels with the instruments of the passion.

The frescoes of the Expulsion from Eden and the Building of the Ark may therefore be reasonably ascribed to Dello Delli. But when can they have been executed? There are only two possibilities: that they belong to about 1432, the year of Dello's matriculation, or to 1446, the period of his last visit to Florence. That these frescoes are later than the stylistically old-fashioned retable is evident, and therefore we are led to the date 1446-7. In this way the difference between the early work at Salamanca and the mature style of the fresco explains itself. The eclectic Dello Delli in the latter has made use of new impressions received in Italy. This dating also lends a probability to Vasari's relation that Uccello, who may have come into contact with Dello Delli during his Venetian visit, depicted him as Ham in the scene of the Drunkenness of Noah. And in this notice we obtain a confirmation of the dating suggested on other grounds for Uccello's fresco of the Deluge in about 1446-7.

The fresco with the stories of the blessing of Isaac and the sale of his birthright, which shows, especially in the old-fashioned construction of the architecture, a much closer relation to the retable at Salamanca, must then, as far as we can reach a conclusion in the poor state of preservation, have been painted about 1432.

THE MASTER OF THE BARGELLO TONDO

The works of the two other masters whose hands are recognizable in the frescoes of the Chiostro Verde bring us into the sphere of activity of the little masters of the first half of the Quattrocento in Florence. The far more interesting of the two, on account of his relation to the so-called international Gothic current, is the master who executed the group of frescoes on the south wall with the story of Abraham (Figs. 7, 8). Strikingly stiff and narrow figures grouped into the front shallow plane, with drapery dominated by sharp lines and showing a predilection for parallel folds, move rigidly in a rocky landscape whose lineally outlined cubic masses accompany the rhythm of the figures. Hard and stiff in everything, this master expresses himself by a strongly marked linear rhythm which is seen above all in the awkward pumping gestures of the arms. In a mannered and extremely exaggerated style, we have the Gothic forms of Lorenzo Monaco, concentrated, as it were, and summarized in a few lines. Down to the merest detail, all these traits reappear in the works of a master first pieced together by Sirén and then better understood by Longhi.¹¹

11. Sirén in *Art in America*, III (1914-5), pp. 36-40, groups together the *anconetta* of the Fogg (*Catalogue of the Fogg Art Museum*, 1919, no. 5, pp. 55-56) with an Annunciation in the Parry collection (illustrated by Van Marle, *Development...*, X, fig. 130) and the Coronation at the Innocenti, and calls the painter the "Master of the Innocenti Coronation." This last named work, however, belongs according

to R. Longhi (in *Pinacoteca*, I, p. 35; see also R. Offner, *Burlington Magazine*, LXIII (1933), p. 170) to the Master of the Straus Madonna. Longhi unites, instead, the three *tondi* of the Carrand, Le Roy, and Cook collections and a Crucifixion formerly at Volterra's in Florence (illustrated by Van Marle, *op. cit.*, IX, fig. 178) and adds to them as an obviously later work a much restored Madonna once belonging to



FIG. 5—Salamanca, Cathedral: Birth of Mary
Panel from Altarpiece by Dello Delli

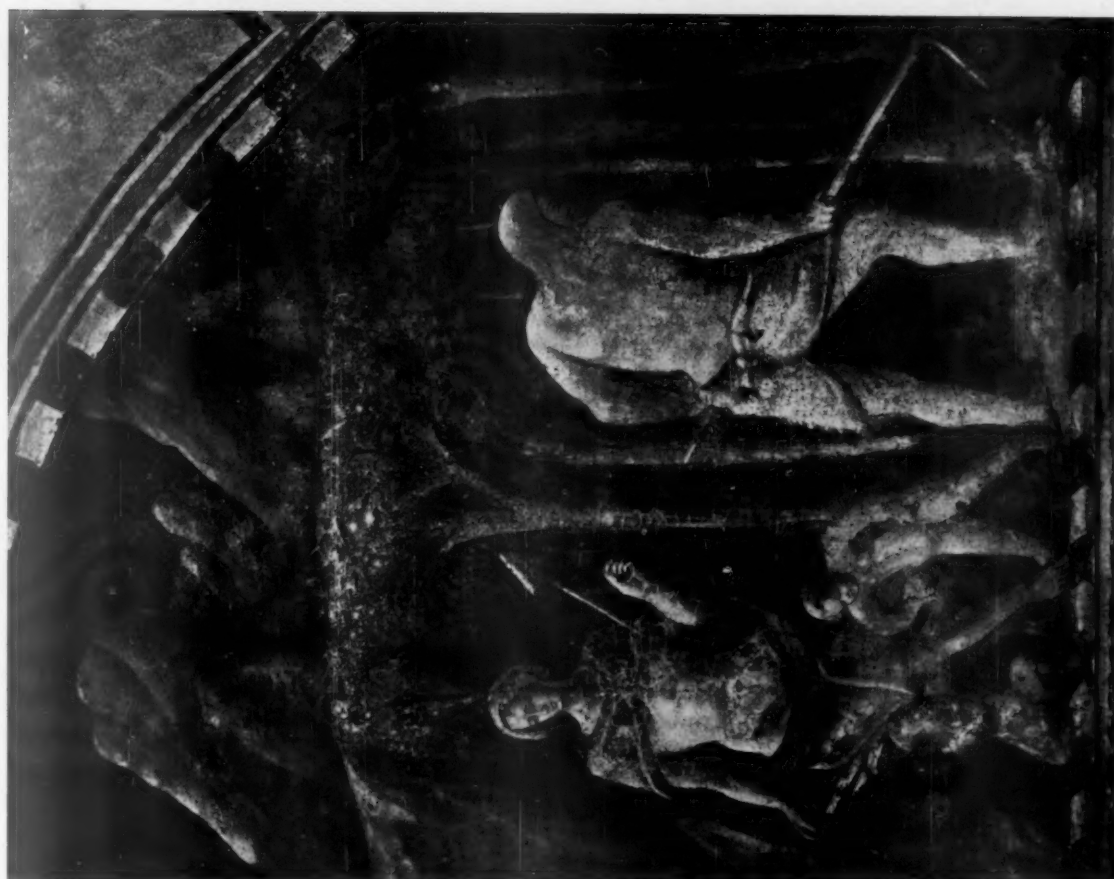


FIG. 6—Florence, S. Maria Novella, Chiostro Verde:
Detail of Fresco Shown in Fig. 1



FIG. 7—*Expulsion of Hagar and Ishmael; Sacrifice of Isaac*



FIG. 8—*Stories from the Life of Abraham*

Florence, S. Maria Novella, Chiostro Verde: Frescoes by the Master of the Bargello Tondo

To him belong an *anconetta* in the Fogg Museum (Fig. 9) and three *tondi*, one in the Bargello at Florence with the Judgment of Paris, another of similar content (Fig. 10) formerly in the Martin le Roy collection at Paris, now in the collection of Marquet de Vasselot at Neuilly sur Seine, and a third with the Rape of Helen in the Cook collection at Richmond,¹² and also a charming Annunciation in the Parry collection at Highnam Court, Gloucestershire, which originally hung behind the high altar in the parish church of Pietrafitta near Castellina in Chianti. Above all, in the Fogg *anconetta*, in which we have the Madonna Enthroned between Peter Martyr and St. Francis, with the Annunciation above, and below, forming a kind of predella, the Nativity and the Visitation, we find the same vertical figures, the same hard, linear folds, the thin, narrow hands and the notably pointed faces with tiny mouse-like eyes and thin, sharp nose. The derivation of this very archaic Gothicism from Lorenzo Monaco's art is specially evident in this picture. The representation of the Annunciation is iconographically dependent on the Annunciations of the Camaldolese. But, on the other hand, and above all in the frescoes, there are evident references to the style of Giovanni del Ponte, and the types, especially, both full-face and profile, remind us of this painter. Our painter transforms the more Baroque, pathetic expression of Giovanni into a more lyric style, with an admixture of Renaissance traits, and at times might be described as a Florentine *alter ego* of certain Sienese such as Giovanni di Pietro Ambrosi or Giovanni di Paolo. We are reminded of these last and of Lorenzo Monaco's predella with the Miracle of St. Nicholas of Bari in the stylized waves on the *tondo* with the Rape of Helen, as also in the sharp-cut rock constructions which recur in a charming cassone with stories from the early life of Hercules, formerly in the Nemes collection.¹³ The influence of the Flemish Burgundian current is strongest in the *tondi*. The elegant, modish, delicate female figures call to mind the groups of aristocratic figures in the representation of the month of April from the Book of Hours of the Duc de Berry at Chantilly. This interweaving of French elements is so effective that the wings of a triptych, each with the delicious figures of four angel musicians formerly on the Berlin market, were always labeled as "French School."¹⁴

The miniature-like and exceedingly fascinating Annunciation in the Parry collection repeats this stylistic admixture of traits borrowed from the North with those

Mr. Davis and now in the Metropolitan Museum at New York, which Salmi (see *Dedalo*, 1928, pp. 13 and 19) with some justification has put in relation to a Pesellinesque Annunciation in the Lanckoronski collection. Berenson (*op. cit.*, p. 196) agrees with Salmi's coupling of the two pictures. The illustration of some of the frescoes is to be found in Van Marle, *op. cit.*, X, figs. 150-151. See also Alinari 4022-6, and Brogi 19479.

Prof. Salmi (*op. cit.*, p. 176) finds a close connection in the style of these frescoes with the art of Lorenzo di Niccolò as well as a certain dependance on Bicci di Lorenzo and on the Straus Master, whose oeuvre he is inclined to divide into two groups. Prof. Salmi dates the frescoes about 1430. He recognizes the same hand in a cassone with the story of Judith (*op. cit.*, fig. 4), formerly on the Florentine market,

which might well be considered as an early work of our master.

12. T. Borenius (*Catalogue of Paintings in the Cook Collection at Richmond*, 1913, no. 18) was the first to connect the three *tondi*. See also Schubring, *Cassoni*, nos. 88, 89, and 92. A. Venturi, in *Storia dell'arte italiana*, VII, pt. I, p. 214, gave the Bargello *tondo* to a "follower of Gentile, probably Bolognese." On the reverse are two putti and two small coats of arms.

13. Schubring in *Art in America*, 1930, p. 228 (reproduced as fig. 1), calls it Sienese, near Sassetta. In the catalogue of the Nemes sale, Mensing, Amsterdam, Nov., 1928, no. 7, it was attributed to the Paris Master.

14. Reproduced in the catalogue of the Ausstellung Perls, Berlin, 1928, no. 20; 1.46 m. x 0.40 m. each.

taken from Lorenzo Monaco, and the delicate but brilliant colors, the method of touching up by thin, fine high-lights, and the transparency of the tones recur in the works of another master belonging to the same artistic environment—the Master of the Bambino Vispo. A Madonna and Child, exhibited as a loan in the gallery at Edinburgh, which is in R. Longhi's opinion the pendant of the Parry Annunciation and may well have once formed with it a diptych,¹⁵ shows elegant architecture almost like that to be found on French ivories. The broadly swung ornamental fold waves recall especially the works of the Master of the Bambino Vispo, while the type reproduces almost precisely that of a Madonna of Humility at S. Romolo a Settimo, ascribed to Lorenzo Monaco.¹⁶

In close stylistic relation to the Madonna at Edinburgh there is a pleasing Madonna of Humility in the collection of Mr. Robert Lehman.¹⁷ The punched design of the border on the gold ground, for instance, is identical in both pictures. While, however, the work in Edinburgh shows the comparatively spatial, freely developed later style of the master, the pleasing but timid and exceedingly careful rendering of the same theme in the Lehman collection appears to belong to a somewhat earlier phase of his development. There are evident connections with Masolino in the Madonna formerly at Novoli, and this not merely in formal details, but also in the tendency of the little picture to a lyric, almost sentimental romanticism. In the Parry Annunciation, with its movement and greater emphasis, Sirén has tried to establish a link with Fra Filippo Lippi. Be this as it may, the little diptych must doubtless have originated after the frescoes in the Chioostro Verde, while the *tondi* (Bargello, Marquet de Vasselot, and Cook) show a closer connection with the frescoes. For example, the profile of Paris in the Bargello tondo and in Fig. 10 is reflected in the group of men in the scene of Abraham paying Ephron in the presence of his son Heth (Fig. 8), and similarly the full face of the crouching shepherd in the Bargello tondo, and in all cases we find the small, ornamentally drawn ears. The frescoes may in all probability have originated in the course of the thirties. Very close, on the other hand, to the diptych, for its romantic conception and its greater liberty of spatial construction, is a dodecagon, formerly on the Florence market, with a representation of six women stooping in some kind of game on a carpet of greensward with an idyllic landscape background in which there appear some knights and horses.¹⁸ From the grated window of a tower two men are looking down. The most archaic, almost even Trecentesque production of this master, first attributed to him by R. Longhi, is a Crucifixion once at Volterra's at Florence, with harsh figures of Mary and John, and hard, clod-like rock pavement.¹⁹

The charm of this master, one of the most typical representatives of the courtly international Gothic tendency in Florence in the first half of the Quattrocento, lies in his delightful, single-minded romanticizing narrative art, in which the heroic attitude

15. The attribution and the connection with the Parry Annunciation are R. Longhi's (verbal communication). A reproduction of the much repainted Madonna is given in Van Marle, *op. cit.*, VIII, pl. VI, p. 252, as Arcangelo di Cola da Camerino. The punched ornament of the border is identical in both pictures.

16. Reproduced by Van Marle, *op. cit.*, IX, fig. 83, as Lorenzo Monaco.

17. For the notice of this picture I am indebted to Dr. Richard Offner.

18. Photograph at the German Institute at Florence.

19. Reproduced by Van Marle, *op. cit.*, IX, fig. 178, with attribution to Masolino.



FIG. 9—Cambridge, Mass., Fogg Museum:
*Madonna Altarpiece by the Master
of the Bargello Tondo*

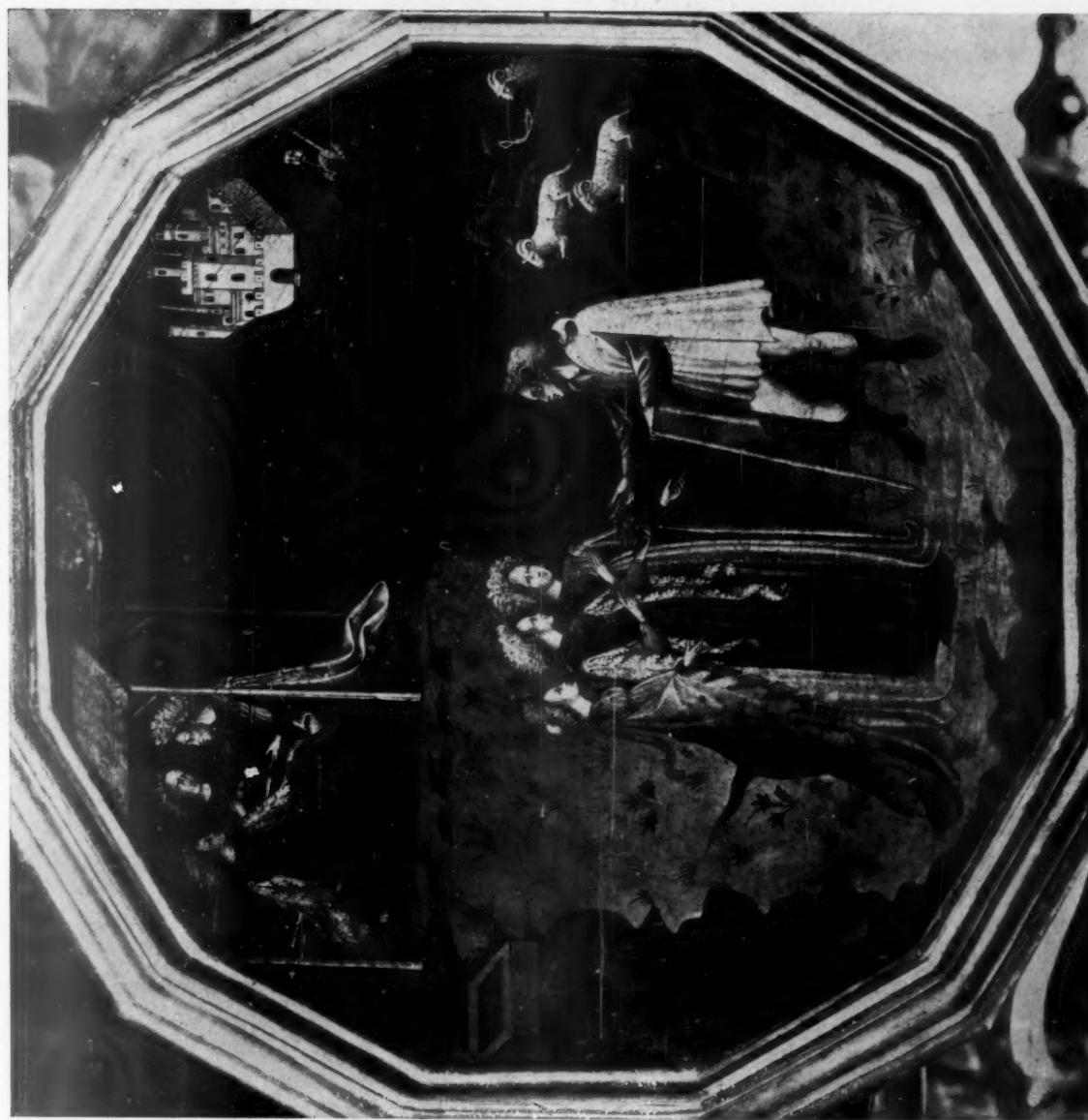


FIG. 10—Neuilly sur Seine, Collection of Marquet de Vasselot:
Judgment of Paris by the Master of the Bargello Tondo

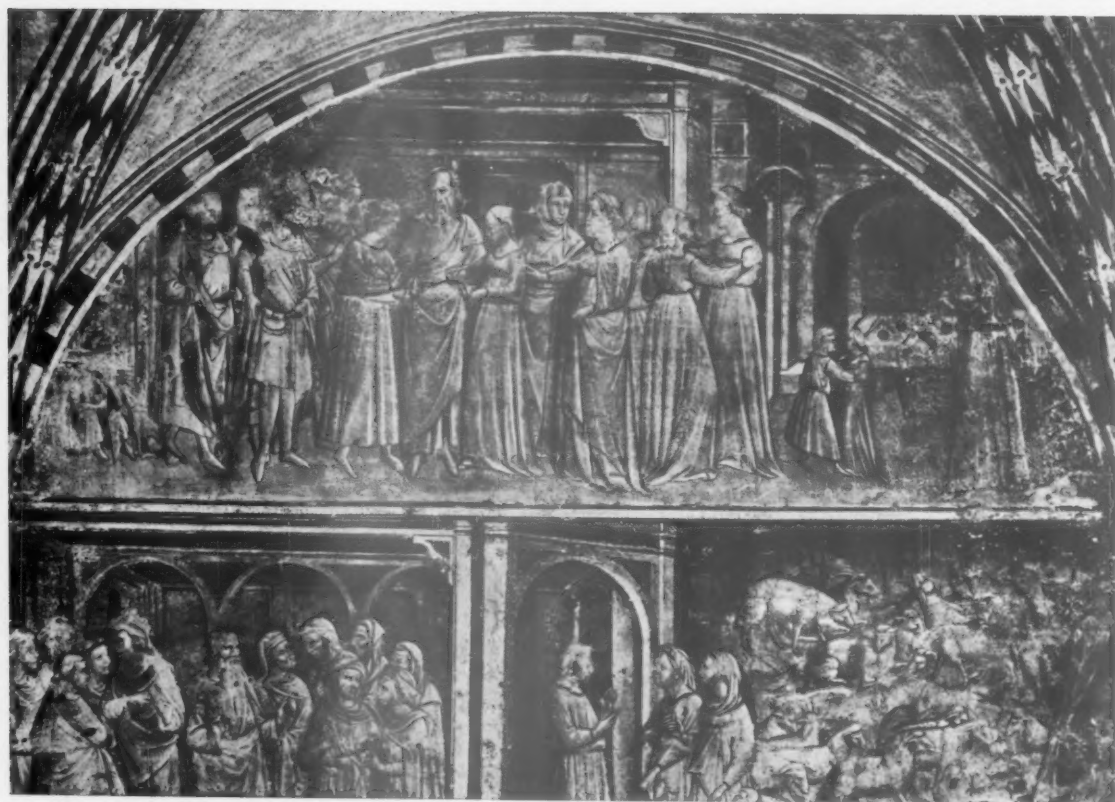


FIG. 11—*Marriage of Jacob*



FIG. 12—*Detail of the Meeting of Jacob and Rachel*

Florence, S. Maria Novella, Chiostro Verde: Frescoes by "Pseudo-Ambrogio Baldese"

of the great contemporary Renaissance artists finds a mild echo as in the case of the Sienese in a pleasingly lyric but never insipid reproduction of their themes. A spiritually rich mingling of a general tendency derived from Lorenzo Monaco with Burgundian elements and certain Renaissance novelties is stamped upon the strongly emphasized linear rhythm of his pictures, almost as though line were an artistic end in itself. The master appears as a true adherent of that movement which Longhi has styled the "Gothic interpretation of the Renaissance" in his peculiar position between two great epochs, but mainly as a somewhat melancholy straggler of the Gothic. He comes nearest of all to the Master of the Bambino Vispo and to the Master of the Straus Madonna,²⁰ to whom he shows a marked relation also in his vivid, brilliant, but at the same time delicate, coloring and in his predilection for intense reds and cool blues.

"PSEUDO-AMBROGIO BALDESE"

The frescoes on the west side of the Chiostro Verde are, with the exception of the first, all by one hand—for Vasari that of Dello Delli. They are of much less interest than those on the other sides of the cloister. Their pleasing master, gifted with an amiable talent for narration, and skillful in the decorative filling of pictorial fields, shows himself from the first glance to be a *retardataire*, a pleasing minor master who is still Trecentesque in the first half of the Quattrocento. The style of the frescoes (Figs. 11, 12), with the relatively flat, unplastic forms of very simple outline, with feeble movement, and with draperies which follow a monotonous conventional fold system, reminds us strongly of the manner of Bicci di Lorenzo. Forms which originated from Lorenzo Monaco are here simplified and schematized according to the taste of the Quattrocento. Animals, architecture, and landscape are equally schematic, the last being treated in broad linear curves. Any signs of development within the sequence of the fresco series are scarcely to be noted. Only in the last bay, with the representation of Jacob building the house of Sacoth and the Rape of Dinah, we can trace a timid effort to make use of the new science of perspective in the disposition of the space.

One peculiarity, which has almost the value of a written signature, distinguishes this group of frescoes: the draperies and garments of almost all the figures display simple gold edges. This peculiar feature, insignificant in itself, can be made to serve as means of identification; for it appears in the same way in the works of the so-called Pseudo-Ambrogio Baldese.²¹ In his numerous small paintings of the

20. R. Offner, in *Burlington Magazine*, LXIII (1933), pp. 169 ff.; U. Procacci, in *Rivista d'arte*, XV (1933), p. 237; M. Salmi, in *Rivista d'arte*, XVI (1934), p. 176.

21. The *œuvre* of this master was put together by Sirén in the *Descriptive Catalogue of the Jarves Collection*, 1916, pp. 58 ff., under the name of Ambrogio Baldese himself, and still earlier in the *Burlington Magazine*, XIV (1908-9), p. 326. R. Offner with justification objected to this name (see *Studies in Italian Primitives at Yale*, 1927, pp. 19-20). The list of works of the Pseudo-Baldese was further enlarged by Van Marle (*op. cit.*, IX, pp. 86-92), and

in part by erroneous attributions, which were criticized by R. Longhi in *Pinacoteca*, p. 34, note 2, and other contributions were made by Berenson in *Dedalo*, XII (1932), pp. 174-177, and by Procacci in *Rivista d'arte*, 1933, pp. 240-3, with the questionable attribution of an Enthroned Madonna in the Palazzo Arcivescovile at Florence, which more probably belongs to Giovanni Bonsi, as may be seen from a comparison with the polyptych by this master in the Vatican Gallery (no. 9, dated 1371) and an Enthroned Madonna with four angels in the Kleinberger Loan Exhibition at New York, 1917, no. 12.

The illustration of one of the frescoes which we

Madonna, the same female type recurs constantly, with the rounded, slightly flattened features, the too markedly Greek nose, the small, misty eyes, the pointed mouth, and the ears drawn in a purely decorative way. A comparison may be made, for instance, of the Madonna at Worcester²² or a Madonna of Humility formerly on the Geneva market (Fig. 13) with the heads of the best preserved and least restored female figures in the frescoes, as, for example, the woman with the veil in the representation of the Marriage of Jacob (Fig. 11). But the male types also, which are reproduced in the frescoes with considerable monotony, are identical with those of the saints in the various altarpieces by the master, as, for instance, that with the four saints in the Museo Bandini at Fiesole (Fig. 15), whose central figure is lost.

Dr. Offner has already clearly pointed out the various influences which are brought to play in the works of "Pseudo-Ambrogio Baldese," and there is little to add to what he has written. One of the earliest productions of the artist seems to be the triptych with the Madonna Enthroned and Four Saints in the church of S. Pietro a Cedda, near Poggibonsi (Fig. 14). The Madonna is unthinkable without the altarpiece of 1410 by Lorenzo Monaco in the Uffizi as model. The figure of St. Francis is evidently a reflection of the corresponding figure in Mariotto di Nardo's polyptych of 1421 at Panzano. The figures show the relatively heavy and plastic forms of Mariotto transposed into a more superficial and softer key. The facial types, with the exception of the Madonna, which is specifically similar to Lorenzo Monaco, are also strongly reminiscent of Mariotto. Very probably two predella panels (the third is missing) originally belonged to this triptych—one with the Annunciation, in the Copenhagen Museum (Fig. 16), and the other with the Nativity, at the Vatican, both being stylistically as well as thematically dependent on Lorenzo Monaco. The Nativity goes back directly to the corresponding scene in the predella of Lorenzo's Annunciation at S. Trinità, Florence.

It is possible, but by no means certain, that the date of the altarpiece now in the Jarves collection, representing the Madonna between Four Saints, may be put in the year 1420, as Sirén opines. It would thus be the earliest remaining, and the only dated, work of "Pseudo-Ambrogio." The connection with Mariotto di Nardo is here still closer. The figures of the Eternal Father, of Gabriel, and those of the Annunciation, as well as the types of both Mother and Child are dependent on this master, as may be seen by a comparison with his Madonna Enthroned at Pistoia. The formal world of Lorenzo Monaco is to be recognized here in general as in detail.

Notably later, and certainly hardly before the middle of the thirties, may have been executed the polyptych in the Academy at Florence, with again the Madonna Enthroned and Four Saints. The silhouette of the figures has become more compact and simpler; the heads are rounder and somewhat more plastic. The monotonous style of the master is now fully developed. The influences of the new plastic methods of the Quattrocento are scarcely noticeable. His painting now recalls that of Bicci

attribute to the master in the Chiostro Verde is to be found in Van Marle, *op. cit.*, X, fig. 152. Prof. Salmi emphasizes the connection of these frescoes with Rosello di Jacopo Franchi (*op. cit.*, p. 178) and rightly notes the varying quality of the different compartments, which may be due to the intervention

of scholars working on the master's cartoons.

22. See the alphabetical list of works below. The names quoted in parentheses refer to the critics responsible for the attributions of certain pictures which are in part unknown to the writer.



FIG. 13—*Geneva Market (Formerly):*
Madonna by "Pseudo-Ambrogio Baldese"

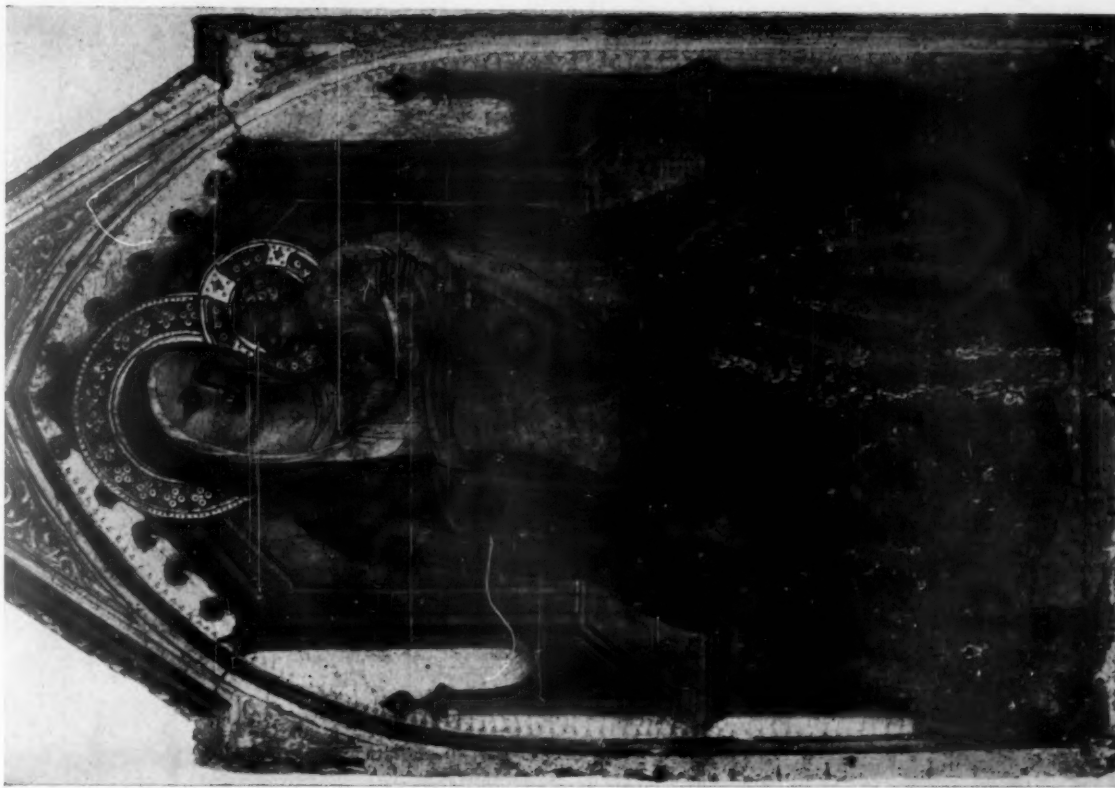


FIG. 14—*Poggibonsi, S. Pietro a Cedda:*
Madonna by "Pseudo-Ambrogio Baldese"



FIG. 15—*Fiesole, Museo Bandini: Four Saints by "Pseudo-Ambrogio Baldese"*



FIG. 16—*Copenhagen, Museum: Annunciation by "Pseudo-Ambrogio Baldese"*

di Lorenzo, and in this same period must have taken place the execution of the frescoes in the Chiostro Verde.

It is hardly worth while to treat in detail the many small pictures of the Madonna and Child, which, with the exception of a few examples of better quality, seem almost to have been turned out serially. The beautiful Madonna of Worcester shows, as Berenson has already remarked, a certain relation to Rossello di Jacopo Franchi. Earlier, perhaps even before the end of the twenties, may have been executed the pleasant Madonna of Humility in Geneva (Fig. 13), while the one in the Corsi collection at Florence, which shows a relatively strong plastic conception and an awkward attempt at the foreshortening of certain members, must, on the other hand, be placed considerably later.

Some notice is due the frescoes painted in *terra verde* in the Convento dei Neri at Florence, unfortunately only preserved in a fragmentary condition. These, too, evince a maturer style, and must have been executed after 1440, the date of the building of the convent.²³ Especially the composition of the Stigmatization approaches a grandeur of conception. On the right, as witness of the miracle, crouches a monk, who is seen from the front—a novel motif in this period but recurring in Domenico Veneziano's predella in the Contini collection at Florence. In the background there is a church, seen in perspective, and a little wood. Cubic rock constructions accompany the movement of the figures. It is possible that the composition of this fresco, which is repeated in the predella of the altarpiece at the Florence Academy, is dependent on that of the destroyed fresco of Paolo Uccello in S. Trinità, which was mentioned by Vasari as one of his youthful works. The markedly dramatic manner and the perspective treatment of the scene, as seen, for instance, in the strongly foreshortened book which lies in the foreground, are Uccellesque features.

The name of this anonymous master known as Pseudo-Ambrogio Baldese has so far not been found. However, there is a plausibility in an identification with a documentarily known painter, Bonaiuto di Giovanni. We know that Bonaiuto was a pupil of Mariotto di Nardo, in whose testamentary disposition he is cited as witness.²⁴ He is mentioned as member of the Guild of St. Luke in 1427 and as fully admitted on the 31st of May, 1429; and in 1430 he is described as the helper of Bicci di Lorenzo. In the thirties he paints frescoes in *terra verde* for several hospitals under the commission of the Compagnia del Bigallo,²⁵ but none of these are extant. In the year 1446, on the 27th of May, together with Lorenzo di Bartolommeo he estimates the frescoes of Rossello di Jacopo Franchi and Ventura del Moro on the façade of the Bigallo. Finally, in 1457 the *catasta* mentions him as owning a house in the Corso degli Adimari.

23. There are the following scenes: the Stigmatization of St. Francis, the Nativity, the Adoration of the Magi, the Presentation in the Temple, the Flight into Egypt, Christ amid the Doctors. E. Cappelli in *Compagnia dei Neri*, Florence, 1927, pp. 82 ff., contradicts Chiapelli's attribution of the frescoes to Uccello (see *L'Arte del rinascimento*, 1925, p. 237), and brings them into relation with these in the Chiostro Verde, dating them, however, erroneously in the first half of the Trecento. The chapel, also known under the title of S. Maria della Croce al

Tempio, was erected in 1440 at the expense of Vanni di Niccolò di Ser Vanni (see Richa, II, p. 131). Photographs by Cipriani, 14409-14. Dr. W. Paatz has already connected these frescoes with those on the west wall of the Chiostro Verde (*Riv. d'arte*, XVI (1934), p. 147).

24. April 14, 1424.

25. Poggi, *Il Bigallo*, Florence, 1905, p. 56. In this place other documents concerning Bonaiuto are quoted. See also Colnaghi, *op. cit.*, p. 461, and Poggi, *Il Duomo di Firenze*, Berlin, 1909, nos. 1098, 1408, 1411.

"Pseudo-Ambrogio Baldese" (or perhaps Bonaiuto di Giovanni) is one of those eclectic, *retardataire* minor masters of the first half of the Quattrocento, who, apart from the movement of the leading artists, remained true throughout their whole careers to an academic and purely Trecentesque Gothic principle. His point of departure was from Mariotto di Nardo, his style growing out of the later tradition of Agnolo Gaddi with echoes of Lorenzo Monaco. In the thirties the influence of Bicci di Lorenzo makes itself felt in his works, above all in the Chiostro Verde,²⁶ both in the composition of the figures and in the architectural perspective. He recalls this master also coloristically in the pleasant decorative disposition of the warmer tones, in his frequent use of a brilliant scarlet, and in his very soft modeling in light and shade. The new technical conquests of Quattrocento painting find but a faint echo in his work, visible only in an increase of plasticity in his figures and in an evident effort after foreshortening.

LIST OF WORKS OF "PSEUDO-AMBROGIO BALDESE"

- BOSTON, Museum of Fine Art, store room: Madonna with Magdalen and Baptist (Sirén).
 BUDAPEST, Gallery, no. 45: Triptych, Madonna and Saints (Van Marle).
 CEDDA, S. Pietro, near Poggibonsi: Triptych, Madonna Enthroned with Four Saints (Procacci).
 FIESOLE, Museo Bandini, no. 29: Two wings of a triptych with Four Saints (Sirén). Illustrated by Giglioli, *Catalogo Fiesole*, Rome, 1933.
 COPENHAGEN, Gallery, no. 161: Annunciation; on the left, half-length figure of a monastic saint; on the right, kneeling nun. The left part of a predella, perhaps that of the altarpiece at Cedda, whose middle part was probably a Pietà. See Van Marle, *op. cit.*, IX, p. 177, no. 1, where it is attributed to the school of Lorenzo Monaco.
 FLORENCE, Academy, no. 18, dep.: Polyptych, Madonna Enthroned with Four Saints; predella (Sirén). Reali Photograph, no. 480.
 » Chiostro Verde: Five frescoes with scenes of the Story of Jacob.
 » Compagnia dei Neri: Fresco fragments (see note above). Cipriani photographs 14409-14.
 » Carmine, Sacristy: Fresco in lunette, Madonna and Child (Procacci). Brogi photograph, 19798.
 » Convento Oblate: Madonna with Four Saints.
 » Palazzo Vecchio: Fresco in lunette, Madonna and Child (Procacci). Reali photograph, 359.
 » Acton Collection; Saint in nun's habit, and above St. Phillip.
 » Corsi Collection: Madonna of Humility (Sirén).
 » Cinelli Collection: Madonna and Saints (Van Marle).
 » De Clemente Collection: Madonna of Humility (Vavalà, verbal communication).
 » Hautmann Collection: Madonna and Child, fragment in oval (Vavalà, *idem*).
 » Piccoli Collection: Adoration of the Magi. Reproduced by Berenson in *Dedalo*, XII, p. 177.
 » Market: Madonna with Four Saints and Two Angels (Van Marle).
 » Market: Madonna with Two Saints and Four Angels. Reproduced by Van Marle, *op. cit.*, IX, fig. 54.
 » Market: St. Dominic. Photograph at the German Institute, Florence.
 FRANKFORT-ON-THE-MAIN, Fuld Collection: Madonna of Humility. See *Katalog, Ausstellung Städel*, 1925, no. 70, with illustration.
 » Fuld Collection: Madonna with Four Saints. See *Katalog, Ausstellung Städel*, no. 108, pl. VIII.
 GENEVA, Market (Adamidi): Madonna of Humility.
 MUNICH, formerly in the Behr Collection: Madonna of Humility. *Versteigerungs Katalog*, Helbing, Munich, 1933, no. 189.
 NEW HAVEN, Yale University, no. 22: Triptych, Madonna Enthroned with Four Saints (Sirén).

26. Very near the frescoes in the Chiostro Verde are others at Cercina, which belong to some master in the circle of Bicci di Lorenzo (see B. Toesca, in *Dedalo*, X, pp. 493 ff.; M. Salmi, *op. cit.*, p. 176). A drawing in the Louvre (no. 1251) with scenes from the life of some saint bears the following noteworthy

old inscription: "De Maestris che fecero le prime pitture di verde terra nel Chiostro Antico di S. Maria Novella de quali fra le antiche memor non si trova il nome." The drawing may be perhaps by "Pseudo-Ambrogio Baldese."

NEW YORK, Ehrich Galleries (formerly at Paris, Trotti): Coronation of the Virgin (Sirén). Reproduced in *Rivista d'arte*, XI (1911), p. 101.

» Kleinberger, Loan Exhibition, 1917, no. 15: Madonna with Four Saints; above, Pietà.

» Private collection: Madonna with Twelve Saints and Angels (Van Marle, as doubtful).

PERUGIA, Gallery, no. 77: Madonna with Four Saints and Two Cherubim (Van Marle).

ROME, Vatican, no. 82: Predella, Nativity, probably for the triptych at Cedda. Illustrated by Van Marle *op. cit.*, IX, fig. 120, as school of Lorenzo Monaco.

» Market: Madonna and Child, half-length (Van Marle).

SIENA, Opera del Duomo: Fragment, Madonna and Child.

VENICE, Market: Madonna with the Baptist, St. Christopher and Two Female Saints.

VIENNA, Dorotheum, Miethke Sale, 1933, no. 95: Madonna between the Baptist and St. Peter.

WORCESTER, Art Museum: Madonna and Child. Illustrated by Van Marle, *op. cit.*, IX, fig. 57, and by Berenson in *Dedalo*, XII, p. 177.

WHEREABOUTS UNKNOWN: Madonna with Four Saints (Berenson in *Dedalo*, XII, p. 176, with illustration).

TWO WAX RELIEFS BY GUGLIELMO DELLA PORTA

By ULRICH MIDDELDORF

DESPITE his wide reputation only a few works of Guglielmo della Porta are known. The tomb of Paul III is one of the most imposing productions of the late Renaissance, and yet it and the few other known works of Frate Guglielmo could scarcely have filled the long years of his artistic career. The history of this tomb,¹ however, suggests the reason for his virtual unproductivity. He, and many another and greater than he, both before and after—Leonardo, for example, and Michelangelo—had difficulty in carrying their undertakings through to completion, ever baffled by the conflict between the will and the means, between the design and its accomplishment, a conflict which often may have had its roots as much in the artist's own nature as in the casual conditions surrounding him. Restlessness, self-dissatisfaction, and lack of accord with his surroundings are the traits which characterize the two books of notes and sketches by Fra Guglielmo in Düsseldorf.² Like one possessed he returns in the drawings over and over again to the same motives, merely altering them a little or slightly changing the point of view, and this is so both of the single figures and of the larger composition. And what was the result of all this? The great masterwork which he had in hand throughout his life and for which he made most of the drawings which have come down to us, a series of fourteen polyfigure reliefs of the Passion, was at long last cast in bronze after the artist had hawked it about for decades. But this work served none of the lofty purposes which the artist conceived for it, and today it is lost and forgotten. And it may well be that most of his conceptions met this same fate.

Michelangelo has left us a few really completed works and a vast number of drawings, and in addition a number of unfinished statues, models, and sketches. May we not assume that of all Guglielmo della Porta's tireless experimental activity some other remains may have come down to us as well as the drawings? It is, however, by no means easy to picture to oneself the probable appearance of the small plastic creations of secondary importance or perhaps the mere sketches of a sculptor by whom we know only monumental works. And only by external evidence have I been led to regard Guglielmo della Porta as the author of two wax reliefs; the best evidence for this assumption is drawn mainly from the master's drawings.

1. Steinmann, *Das Grabmal Pauls III.*, Roma, 1912; Gregorovius, *Monumenti dei Papi*, ed. Huelsen, 1931, pp. 88, 147, pls. LXIV-LXV.

2. Gronau, in *Jahrbuch der preuss. Kunstsamml.*, XXXIX (1918), p. 171, has published some of the drawings and some of the more important letters and

notes from these books. We may look forward to the complete publication which Frau Prof. Frieda Schottmueller and Dr. Werner Gramberg are preparing. To both of them I am greatly indebted for their kind advice, which proved a great help to me in preparing these pages.

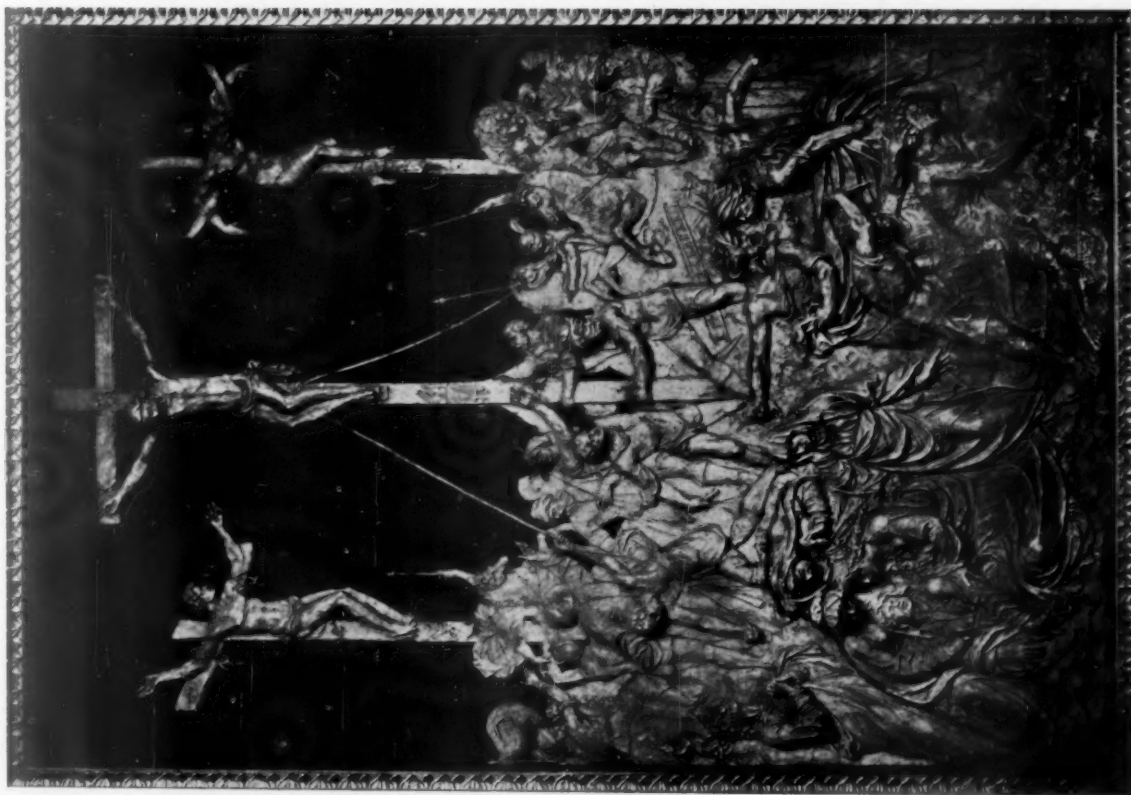


FIG. 1—Rome, Borghese Gallery: *Crucifixion*
Wax Relief by Guglielmo della Porta

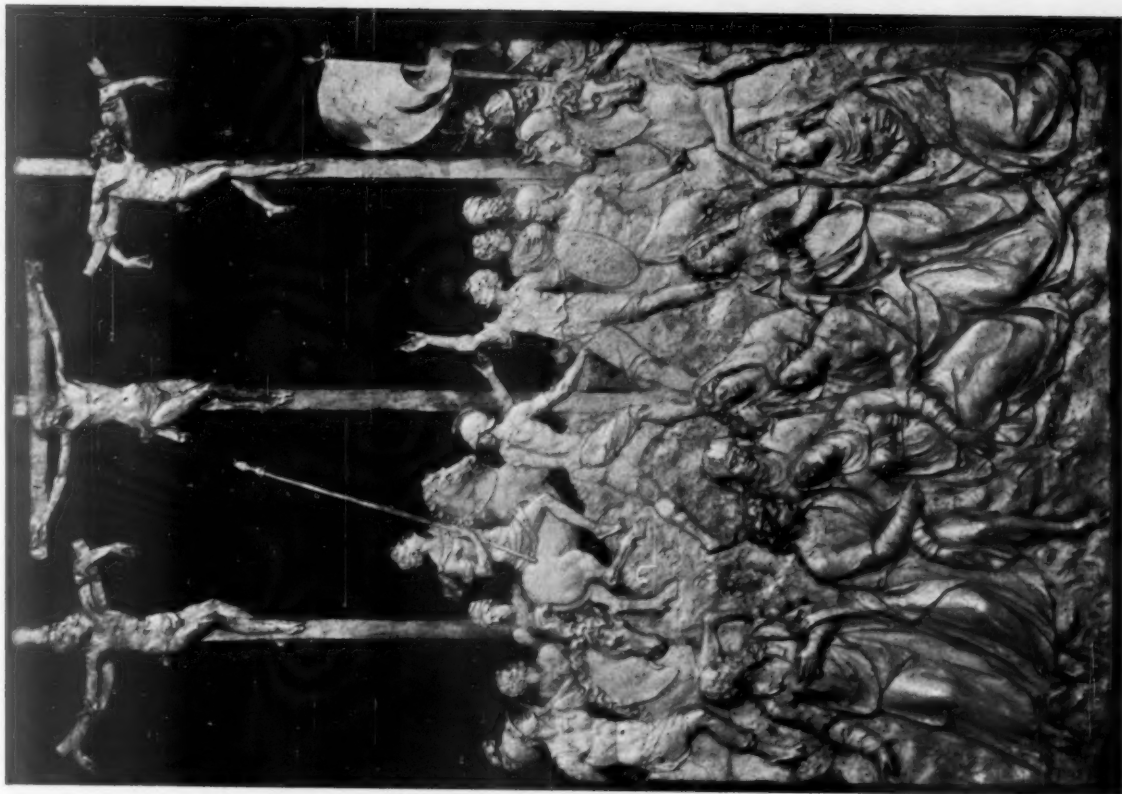


FIG. 2—Stockholm, Possession of Messrs. Howing
and Winborg: *Relief* by Guglielmo della Porta



FIG. 4—*Nude Slaves*



FIG. 5—*Prudentia*



FIG. 3—*Deposition*

Düsseldorf, Academy: Drawings by Guglielmo della Porta

These are two reliefs of the Crucifixion, one in Villa Borghese, in Rome (Fig. 1),³ the other belonging to Messrs. Howing and Winborg in Stockholm (Fig. 2).⁴

The illustrations relieve me of the necessity of using many words to point out that the two reliefs belong together. We should, however, remember that the Roman relief is some four times as large as the one in Sweden and is in consequence far richer in detail. Keeping this in mind, and a certain difference in the photographs, we can freely agree that the two reliefs are by the same hand, variants of a single thought, variants of much the same kind as the different versions of the same theme in Guglielmo della Porta's sketchbooks.

In the Düsseldorf volumes there is, unfortunately, no Crucifixion with which to compare the two wax reliefs. However, the drawing for a Deposition (Fig. 3), which Gronau has published, presents in the group of the fainting Mary a striking agreement with the Swedish relief, in the figure of Mary herself as well as in the serried figures around her, in the gestures of the two isolated standing figures as well as in the striking contrast with which these two figures are placed with regard to the crowded middle group. The relief and the drawing can scarcely have been conceived independently. Moreover, similar principles of composition rule in most of the other Düsseldorf drawings.

And now let us note another peculiarity, which is found also in a few other artists of the same period, for example in Bandinelli. The simple filling of a rôle seemed insufficient to that satiate generation, which needed stronger stimulants. And so we find a multiplication of figures wherever any excuse for this can be found. So it is with the women busied about Mary and also with the warriors, among whom the Believing Centurion seems to appear again and again. The single figure loses all individuality, for it has surrendered it to the group. And this principle is carried so far that the members of a group are almost indistinguishable one from another, as, for example, the women under the cross. At other times the same pose is repeated with an effect which recalls group ballet dancing of our day. This is particularly noticeable in Christ's Entry into Jerusalem, published by Gronau.⁵

The comparison between the drawings and our two reliefs may be carried out into further detail. How similar, for example, the movement of the two slaves on the base of one of the designs for a monument is to that of the warriors in the background of the Crucifixion reliefs! They sprawl with their long arms and legs, and contort their bodies as if possessed (Fig. 4). Their proportionately too small heads agree in every particular, in the straight pointed noses, the sharp chin, and the small eyes. And we seem to find the very signature of the draftsman in this modeling, which brings out so strongly the details of a head even down to single locks of hair, the signature of the draftsman whose pen runs over the paper in a rough scribble, here circumscribing a detail, there another, and building up the whole from the sum of its bits. At times, when tracing draperies, the artist's line flows more smoothly:

3. Wax, modeled on slate, 47×68.5 cm.

4. Wax, modeled on slate, 17.5×25.3 cm. A few parts were damaged and are carefully restored: almost the whole figure of the thief on the left, part of the figure of Christ, and a few spots at the foot of the

cross. Otherwise well preserved. I am indebted to the owners for their kind permission to reproduce the relief.

5. *Loc. cit.*, p. 187.

note the study for the Prudentia of the pope's tomb in one of the Düsseldorf sketchbooks (Fig. 5). To this correspond the long swinging folds of the reliefs; and a figure like Mary in the Swedish Crucifixion is comparable almost line for line to this drawing, down to such trifling details as the angular folds into which the sleeves are rumpled up at the elbows.

The Prudentia of the drawing agrees so closely with the finished statue on the monument that we may tranquilly continue our examination, substituting for the drawings the known sculptures by Guglielmo della Porta. The relief in the Villa Borghese lends itself particularly well to such a comparison because of its larger size and its more detailed execution. The artist's delight in rich and singular drapery here becomes a revel. We find an almost excessive accumulation of the most dissimilar motives, an accumulation, which in the two Cesi tombs in S. Maria Maggiore in Rome so clearly reveals the Lombard-Genoese schooling of the master.⁶ We find Prudentia's richly folded kerchief, which the artist had borrowed from Andrea and Jacopo Sansovino, as from them he had taken the type of the old women. We find the same heavy folds of the mantle seen in the pope's statue in St. Peter's, whose supple softness is in thoroughgoing Genoese taste. We find the wildly crumpled bundle of folds of the reclining Pax formerly on the pope's tomb but now in the Palazzo Farnese. Characteristic of Guglielmo della Porta are the heavy bodies of the women, which recall the allegories on Paul's tomb, characteristic their lumbering mass and laborious movements. Compared with these, how articulate in the play of limbs and how free in their movement are the none too slender figures of Michelangelo's in the Medici chapel.

One might be tempted to assume that the Crucifixion reliefs belonged to the above-mentioned series of Passion reliefs were it not that the dimensions forbid such an assumption. We have several statements regarding the size of the Passion reliefs which seem to be contradictory, but which may well refer to different phases of the undertaking.⁷ None of these statements agrees even approximately with the dimensions either of the Borghese relief or of the one in Sweden. Moreover, the two reliefs do not appear to be sketches or stages on the journey to a distant goal but, rather, variants of a matured idea, for each of them with a certain purpose of its own is carried almost to completion. On the other hand, uncolored wax reliefs of this kind were not usually meant for finished work, but rather as models for casting in bronze or in a nobler metal.⁸ We have many such reliefs which clearly could have served no other purpose than as models either for medals or for plaque-like reliefs, among them the fine series in the Bargello, modeled by Giovanni da Bologna and cast by the goldsmith Michele Mazzafirri.⁹ In all these cases we are dealing with

6. The statue of Paul III in S. Maria in Aracoeli is very similar in this respect. Hager, *Die Ehrenstatuen der Päpste*, 1929, p. 42, therefore ascribed it to the shop of Guglielmo della Porta, an attribution which we may very well agree with.

7. Vasari, ed. Milanesi, VII, p. 548; 4×6 palmi, or about 89×134 cm. Guglielmo himself (Gronau, *op. cit.*, p. 184): 5×9 palmi, or about 125×225 cm. Another statement of the artist that the reliefs were

to go into a bronze door about 3 m. high would suggest still another size.

8. For these technical questions cf. the pertinent remarks by G. F. Hill, in *Burl. Mag.*, XXIV (1913/4), pp. 212-217.

9. Supino, *Cat. del Bargello*, 1898, 374/5. Several of the silver cast reliefs are preserved in Pal. Pitti. Cf. also *Cat. of the Exhibition of Ital. Sculpture* (Burlington Fine Arts Club) 1912, pp. 136 ff., pls. XVII, LXVIII, where other such models are reproduced.

a process of casting which gives a faithful reproduction of the model, and therefore requires that the model itself be very carefully finished. A proof of this opinion is afforded by a bronze casting of the Swedish Crucifixion relief, which was in the possession of Messrs. Bachstitz in The Hague, and which renders the original, as far as I may judge from the reproduction, even to the finest detail.¹⁰

The conditions governing this kind of casting, which admits of no undercutting in the model, determine the flat and restrained relief of the two Crucifixions which are flatter than all the other reliefs of Guglielmo della Porta, for example than those on the tomb in St. Peter's. The lost wax process used for all of these gives the artist far greater freedom and larger possibilities. Whether into this dissimilarity there enters also an element of time I hesitate to say, for we must remember that the artist was accustomed to drag his work out over tens of years.

In the documents and other accounts regarding Guglielmo della Porta we very frequently hear of similar small plastic works, which have at times, it would seem, almost the nature of handicraft. For the ill fortune which dogged his larger works and arrested their execution the artist seems to have found compensation by bringing his ideas into circulation in the shape of small coin; perhaps it was even agreeable to his whimsical temper to have in hand small work of this kind which brought certain and rapid satisfaction and allowed him to then quickly dismiss from his mind the ideas he had executed. For such work many assistants were at hand, some of them from his own household, others probably regular workers in his shop, and still others merely taking suggestions from him and carrying them out independently. Among them there must have been not only sculptors, but goldsmiths, carvers in ivory, woodworkers, and other specialists.¹¹ Of one of these, a Fleming named Jakob Cobaert, called in Rome Coppè Fiammingo, we by good chance know something. He seems to have belonged to the innermost circle of the master's collaborators, and his works seem to have remained in Fra Guglielmo's shop. One involuntarily asks if this agrees with our present-day ideas of authorship. And, indeed, the plaquettes representing scenes from the Metamorphoses which Coppè executed after Fra Guglielmo's design¹² are not unlike our Crucifixion reliefs, especially in the peculiar proportions and movements of the male figures (Figs. 6, 7). Probably by another collaborator is a relief of a Deposition in the Morgan Library in New York, which Planiscig has happily compared with the drawing of the same subject in Düsseldorf.¹³ In this Morgan relief the two men who depose the body of Christ are quite comparable to many of the figures in the Swedish relief. This representation

10. The Bachstitz Collection, III, pl. 16.

11. An interesting light on the conditions in the workshop of Guglielmo della Porta we find in the proceedings of a lawsuit published by Bertolotti, *Artisti lombardi in Roma*, II (1881), pp. 123 ff.

12. Berliner, *Archiv fuer Medaillen- und Plakettenkunde*, III, 1921/2, 134. The complete series in the *Estensische Sammlungen* in Vienna (Planiscig, Catalogue, n. 395). The best replicas in Berlin and in the Vatican. It may be mentioned here that a very well known leaf with drawings in the Pierpont Morgan

Library, which is usually attributed to B. Cellini, is really by Guglielmo della Porta. It is one of the sketches after which Jacob Cobaert executed his plaquettes. (Cf. A collection of drawings formed by C. Fairfax Murray, I, p. 33, and only lately Master drawings selected from the museums and private collections of America, Buffalo Fine Arts Academy, Jan. 1935, n. 26).

13. Planiscig, *Venezianische Bildhauer*, 1931, pp. 631 ff.

of the Deposition seems to have been much admired; many replicas of it are known, and it was cast by as late a founder as Giuseppe de Levi.

These circumstances serve in a certain degree to support our attribution, but at the same time they remind us how little we really know of the history of sculpture, goldsmithery and allied arts of the late Renaissance in Rome. It would scarcely pay to investigate for their own sake the many handicrafts which in those days the rich life of the city and of the papal court caused to flourish, but it will always be of interest to discern even in small works like the two wax reliefs a spirit as richly endowed as that of Fra Guglielmo della Porta.

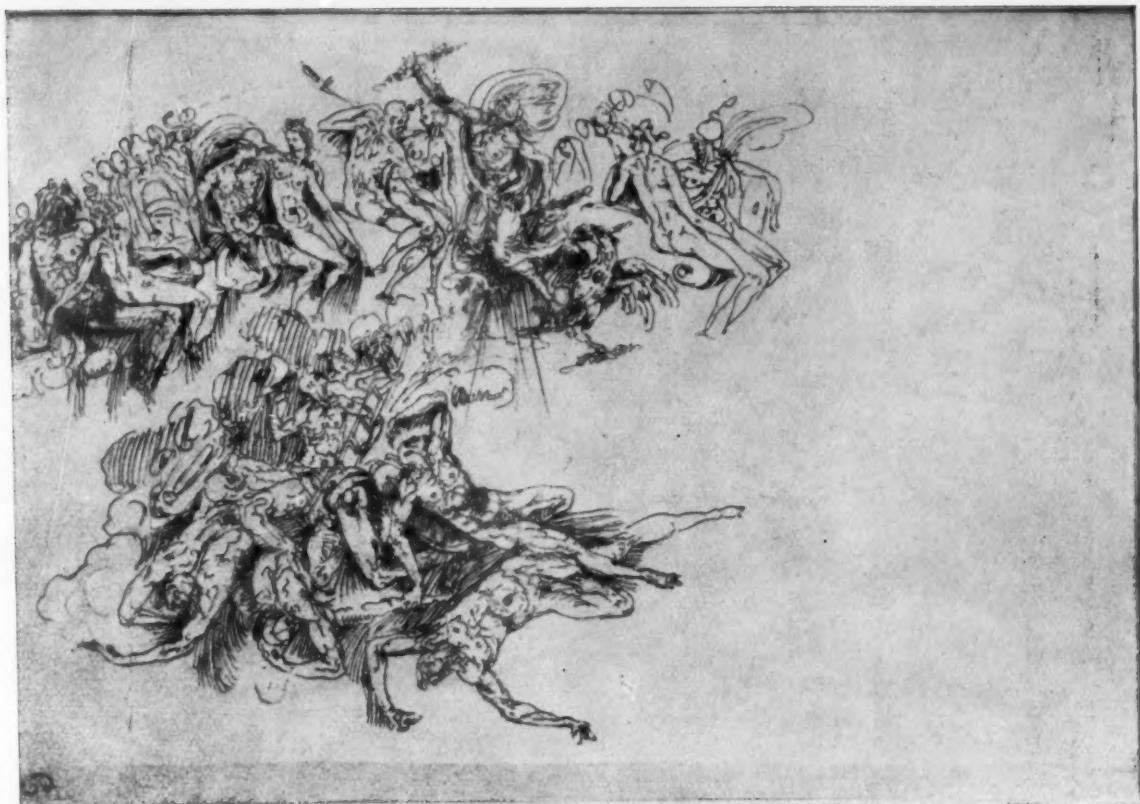


FIG. 6—*New York, Pierpont Morgan Library: Fall of the Giants. Drawing by Guglielmo della Porta*

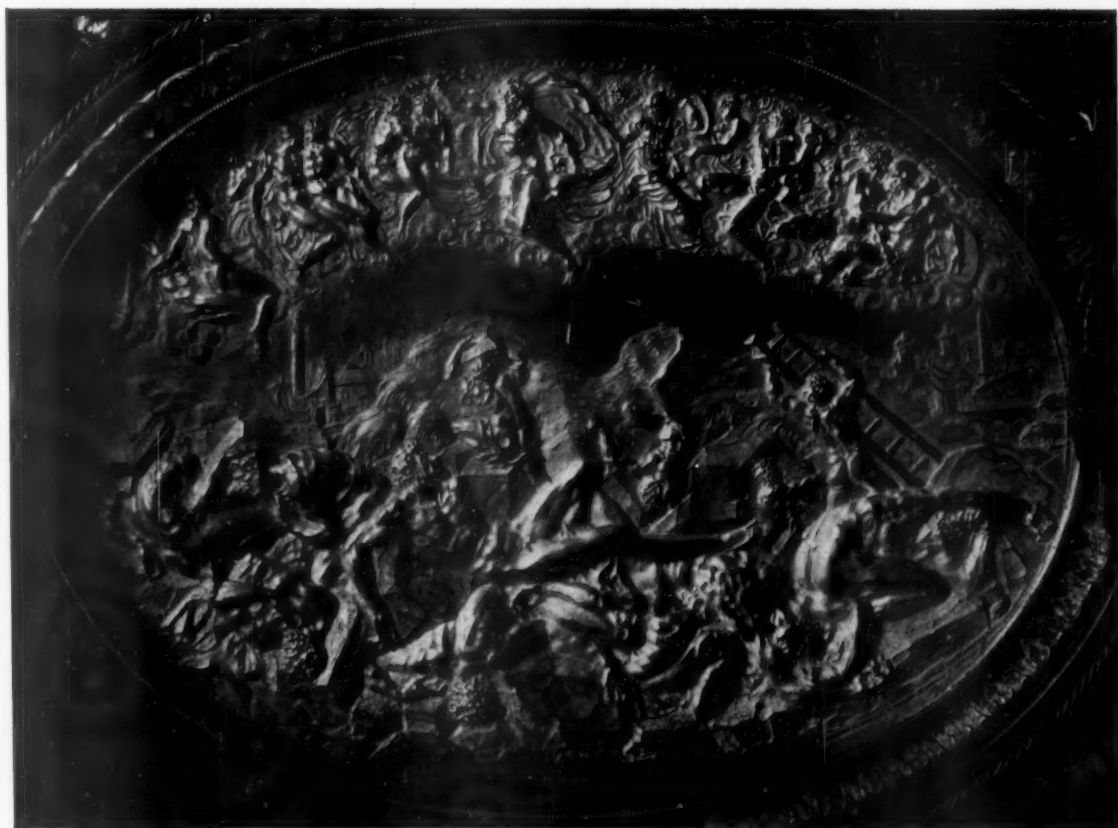


FIG. 7—*Rome, Vatican: Fall of the Giants. Plaquette by Coppè after Design by Guglielmo della Porta*



FIG. 1—*New York, Macpherson Collection: The Ship of Salvation, by an Unknown Flemish Painter*

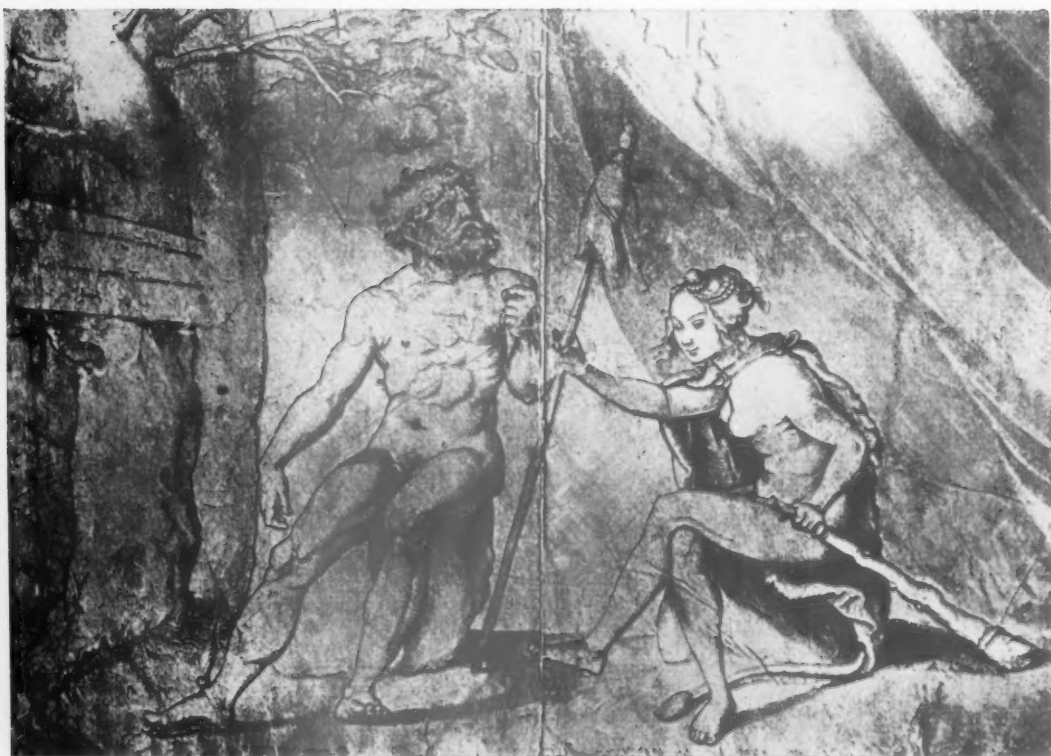


FIG. 2—*Paris, Masson Collection: Heracles and Omphale. Drawing by Hans Baldung*

ECHOES OF ANTIQUITY

By GEORGE W. ELDERKIN

I. A FLEMISH PAINTING OF THE SHIP OF SALVATION

THE adventure of Odysseus with the Sirens of seductive song quite naturally lent itself to allegorical use by Early Christian writers. An excellent illustration is afforded by an exhortation of Clemens Alexandrinus (*Protrep.*, XII, 91 p.) who writes as follows: "Let us flee, oh fellow mariners, let us flee this wave. Fire belches forth. There is a wicked island, heaped with bones and corpses. In it there sings a pretty little harlot, pleasure, taking delight in vulgar music.... A breeze from heaven comes to your aid.... Sail past the song which worketh death.... and bound to the timber thou shalt be freed from destruction" (Φεύγωμεν, ὦ συνναῦται, Φεύγωμεν τὸ κύμα τοῦτο. πῦρ ἐρεύγεται. νῆσός ἐστι πονηρὰ ὅστοις καὶ νεκροῖς σεσωρευμένη, ἄδει δὲ ἐν αὐτῇ πορνίδιον ὥρατον ἡδονή, πανδῆμῳ τερπόμενον μουσικῇ.... πνεῦμά σοι οὐράνιον βοηθεῖ.... παράπλει τὴν ὁδόν. Θάνατον ἐργάζεται.... καὶ τῷ ξύλῳ προσδεδεμένος ἀπάσης ἔσῃ τῆς Φθορᾶς λελυμένος).

Plotinus (*Enneads*, I, 6, 8), a younger contemporary of Clement who resided in Alexandria, likewise found a figurative meaning in the adventures of Odysseus: "For Odysseus is surely a parable to us when he commands the flights from the sorceries of Circe and Calypso." For the Christian, the Homeric hero Odysseus bound to the mast of his ship has become the man of God who is enabled by the cross of Christ to overcome the temptations to sensual pleasure. Although this allegory appears early in Christian thought it does not find certain expression in art until the Renaissance.

A painting by an unknown Flemish artist of the sixteenth century now in the Macpherson collection (Fig. 1) has been interpreted by E. K. Chatterton¹ as the Christian ship of salvation, the church, sailing its course between the dangers of the world symbolized by the rocks, earthquakes, the threats of carnal man, and the ensnaring beauty of mermaids. This interpretation does not give sufficient attention to certain details such as the cave in the lofty rock in the background, the monster in the cave, the flames which leap up from the rocky shore on the right, and the giants on the island just behind the ship. Chatterton adds that the vessel has just enough versimilitude to prove that the artist either made sketches from contemporary craft or received some guidance from a mariner. "The blades of the oars are purely the result of convention and not observation." The reason why the high ship of salvation has been given oars is that the artist's reminiscence of the Odyssean story made them necessary. The oarsmen are the companions of Odysseus made over into Christian sailors who listen not to seductive mermaids. It may be assumed that the ears of these sailors are filled with wax, while the bishop is protected by the restraining power of the cross as was Odysseus

1. *Old Sea Paintings*, p. 38, pl. facing p. 36.

by the mast to which he was held fast. The mermaids have taken the place of the Sirens and gaze upon their own beauty in mirrors as they make themselves more attractive by combing their hair. The artist has placed them on a rock (?), rather than in a meadow as in the Homeric version (*Odys.*, XII, 45), but has retained the Homeric number in representing only two of the alluring maids. The three giants just beyond the ships may symbolize the threats of carnal man but it is quite clear that in origin they are the Laestrygonians who destroyed all but one of the ships of Odysseus (*Odys.*, X, 118-125). These relatively colossal figures, far larger than the tiny Christian mariners in the foreground, seem to owe something to classical models. Their clubs remind one of the club of Heracles. One of these giants who has waded into the water with raised club to attack the Christian ship recalls that Laestrygonian of the Odyssey landscapes who advances knee-deep in the sea to attack with a club one of the Greek ships.²

In the painting the ship of salvation has safely passed the flames which shoot upward from the rocky shore. The Flemish artist may have had the volcano of Aetna in mind although Homer says that Charybdis vomited forth like a *lebes* in abundant fire (*Odys.*, XII, 237). Clement has πῦρ ἐρεύεται, which recalls the Pindaric description of Aetna: ἐρεύονται.... πυρὸς.... παγαί (*Pyth.*, I, 40). In the remote background is a headland with a dark cave in which is a large animal facing left, the artist's version of Scylla, the monster that swooped down from its rocky cavern and seized six of the companions of Odysseus as they rowed past. For the painter as for Homer Scylla is a πέλωρ κακόν.

There is, then, little doubt that the Flemish painter has adapted to his purpose the adventures of Odysseus as did the church father centuries before his time. He probably had not seen any artistic representation of the story although he may have been in Italy along with those Dutch artists who in the sixteenth century scratched their names on the stuccoed walls of the Golden House of Nero.³

II. THE "HERACLES AND OMPHALE" OF HANS BALDUNG

A pen drawing of Heracles and Omphale (Fig. 2) which bears the initials of Hans Baldung and the date 1533 has been published recently.⁴ The hero and the Lydian queen are seated each on a rock near some trees. Omphale has already donned the lion's skin of the hero, holds his club and reaches forward to give him a distaff. A very fine thread passes through his hands to the spindle near his right foot. On a tablet affixed to a tree is written an elegiac distich in Latin:

Quid non vincat Amor torvi domitore leonis
Mollia victrici pensa trahente manu?

K. T. Parker, who discusses this inscription states that the word following *mollia* is *virtuti*, which he believes to have been mistakenly written for *versute*.⁵ My col-

2. Nogara, *Antichi affreschi del Vaticano*, pl. XVIII; the landscapes were discovered in 1840.

3. Weege, *Jahr. des arch. Inst.*, 1913, p. 146.

4. *Münchner Jahr. der bild. Kunst*, 1926, p. 33.

5. *Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde*, 1924, p. 255.

league Professor Panofsky has, however, ascertained, through a friend resident in Paris who examined the inscription, that the correct reading is *victrici* (written *victirci*). The scene is an illustration of *contaminatio*. Another story about Heracles very popular at this time and depicted by Cranach was his choice between Virtue and Vice also called "Heracles at the Crossroads." Baldung seems to have confused these two stories. The exterior setting of the choice of Heracles has been substituted for the interior scene of the hero spinning wool at the court of Omphale. Further, Baldung represents Heracles nude although the classic story gives him female attire which he wears in Hellenistic-Roman sculpture and again in Cranach's version. An explanation of the nudity may be found in the pronounced plastic quality of the figure. So striking is the difference between the body and the head that Baldung seems to have combined a contemporary type of head with a classic body. The ultimate model must have been the Belvedere torso now in the Vatican.⁶ A comparison of the two reveals their close resemblance, which extends even to the cube of rock upon which each sits. Whether or not the Belvedere torso represents Marsyas playing a lyre rather than Heracles⁷ does not concern the present theory because in Baldung's time the figure was believed to be that of Heracles.

The date of Baldung's sketch was 1533. The Belvedere torso was in the Palazzo Colonna in the time of Pope Clement VII (1523-34). It was probably mutilated in the sack of Rome in 1527. The earliest dated sketch, of 1524, shows that the legs of the figure were intact.⁸ There is no record that Baldung ever went to Rome. It seems certain that he remained in Strassburg from 1517 until his death. If, then, he used the torso as a model for his Heracles he must have worked from some sketch, possibly by Michelangelo, who greatly admired the statue.

6. The relationship to Michelangelo's David may also be discerned.

7. Graindor, *Athènes sous Auguste*, p. 222.

8. *Archivio stor. d. arte*, 1891, p. 477.

REVIEWS AND NOTES

DER FRIES DES HEKATEIONS VON LAGINA. By Arnold Schober. (*Istanbuler Forschungen, herausgegeben von der Abteilung Istanbul des archäologischen Institutes des Deutschen Reiches, Band 11.*) 116 pp., 36 pls., 45 text figs. Vienna, Rohrer, 1933.

The temple at Lagina was decorated with a frieze some 83.70 m. long. About half of it is housed in the museum at Istanbul and is fairly well preserved. Half of the frieze makes a considerable series of sculptures; probably these temple reliefs are the latest Hellenistic series that we possess; one, too, that presents interesting problems of interpretation; but it is little known. Heretofore it hardly could be known, for no good illustrations existed. Schober has supplied this requisite: excellent reproductions of excellent photographs of all the pieces in the museum are contained in his plates, and even an old photograph of one slab now lost. Although the frieze is the chief subject of the book, the architecture also is discussed somewhat. The site has never been fully excavated, and Schober has not even visited it; but two members of the Austrian expedition at Ephesos, Keil and Miltner, were there in 1931 and supply some data which supplement the older publications.

After a brief introduction, in which earlier studies are noted, a chapter is devoted to the date of the temple. Chamonard had suggested, and others had accepted, a period soon after 81 B. C., which is the date of a decree engraved on the wall. But Mendel had argued for the last quarter of the first century B. C., and Studniczka for the earlier part of the second century. Studniczka was influenced chiefly by the indications in the architecture of the influence of Hermogenes, who was believed to have flourished about 200. Schober also stresses this Hermogenean influence; but von Gerkan has now moved that architect down to about 125 B. C., and accordingly the Lagina temple is brought toward the end of the second century. Schober finds a particular resemblance to the temple at Alabanda, the work of an architect Menesthes. Menesthes, he thinks, must have been a pupil of Hermogenes, and may well have been the architect of the Hekateion also. This architectural reasoning deserves consideration, but is scarcely conclusive. The temple at Alabanda is very imperfectly known; the similarities to the Lagina temple, insofar as they are ascertainable, are by no means complete, and there are conspicuous differences. And the Hermogenean character, aside from the "pseudo-dipteral" plan, is none too clear. In the Lagina temple there is more resemblance to Hermogenes than to fourth century Ionic, of course; but the two-banded architrave, the Corinthian columns of the peristyle, and the Asiatic bases of the Ionic columns of the pronaos are in decided contrast with the temple at Magnesia. (It is interesting that the Corinthian columns have Attic bases.) Various comparisons with Hellenistic buildings are made. Incidentally, two kinds of capitals in the Olympieion at Athens are distinguished and illustrated. The illus-

trations are better than those in Welter's article (*Ath. Mitt.*, 1923, pp. 183f.), which Schober ignores. (German writers regularly disregard Fraser's study of these capitals, *Art. Bull.*, IV, pp. 5ff.). Not only architecture but epigraphy and history are drawn on for evidence of date, and Schober's discussions are acute, but the question remains open. Although this chapter is short and relatively unimportant from the author's standpoint, it is not the least interesting part of the book; many readers will find a sympathetic attitude toward the architecture of the temple more easily attainable than toward the sculpture.

The existing portions of the frieze are described in 32 pages. The descriptions in Mendel's catalogue of the museum, for these sculptures as for others, reach the ultimate in fullness, and Schober confessedly omits many details where he agrees with Mendel. In the section on technique the principal conclusions are that certain blocks had been partly prepared as parts of the architrave and then used for the frieze (not taken from older buildings) and that the blocks were sculptured before being put into place. Indications of fastening, etc., were largely chiseled away before the blocks were moved to the museum; if any remain, they are covered by plaster, which evidently was not removed for Schober's study. A folding plate shows a hypothetical arrangement of the existing slabs. In the east and west friezes Chamonard and Mendel are followed, in the north and south considerable modifications are made; it is regretfully acknowledged that some uncertainties remain.

Next, the interpretation of the frieze is undertaken. The east frieze, according to Schober, represents the birth of Zeus, not the birth of Hekate as Mendel had believed. Probably Schober's has always been the prevailing opinion; yet Mendel's view is possible. In the north frieze a soldier and an Amazon clasp hands; this had been supposed to symbolize some international agreement, and Schober suggests the entry into the Roman state of the Pergamene realm, the Amazon representing Asia Minor. The west frieze is obviously a gigantomachy, with feeble echoes of the Pergamene frieze. The south frieze contains a few identifiable deities and many not identifiable: a sort of Carian pantheon, perhaps.

The last chapter is entitled *Das Kunstwerk*. Here it is noted first that each part of the frieze (except the west) consists of a small number of significant figures and a large number of others to fill out the space. According to Schober, the significant figures made in each case a central group, and the central group (even on the west) included Hekate. This is partly assumption, since there is uncertainty about the positions of some slabs and the slab of the south frieze which would have included Hekate has perished; but it seems clear that if any principle governed the composition, this is it. Next, different styles are found in different parts of the frieze: in some portions the figures cross one another and move or extend into the background or forward from it and the third dimension is thus recognized, though not rendered

with great illusionistic success; elsewhere there is a tendency, more or less distinct, toward frontality in the figures and toward arrangement in a series of vertical lines; Schober's pl. XXXII reminds one of the Arch of Constantine. For this style Schober uses the term *Fassadenbildung*. In all four parts of the frieze both styles are found, apparently in continuous sections of some length (three in the north frieze, which is best preserved). Corresponding to the difference in relief style is a difference in drapery: naturalistic drapery is found in the three-dimensional stretches, a more schematic linear style accompanies the *Fassadenbildung*. It is judged that the original sketch for the frieze must have been of a very rough sort, and that the artists to whom the various portions were assigned had a large degree of freedom. Each of them had assistants; for in addition to the variations in general style which have been noted, Schober finds smaller variations indicative of several hands within each of the larger divisions.

Numerous other Hellenistic sculptures are discussed incidentally. In the Magnesia frieze Schober finds evidence of various studios, each taking considerable sections of each side of the frieze as at Lagina. In the gigantomachy of the Pergamene altar, on the other hand, the treatment of space is uniform; and though there are great variations in other respects, they do not permit a division into large sections; they spring partly from the designer's avoidance of monotony and partly from the multitude of individual hands. The Lagina frieze, more clearly than any other, shows two styles side by side: one properly Hellenistic, with emphasis on plastic quality and the third dimension, the other more or less classicistic, linear and depthless; the former developed chiefly in Asia Minor, the latter a product of the revival which took place in the second century in Greece proper and particularly in Athens.

Although datable and attributable sculptures of the Hellenistic period are fairly numerous, the historical development of style has been difficult to trace, because the whole period is largely eclectic. Lawrence, Krahmer, and Horn have contributed to the road-building in this varied Hellenistic scenery; and it will be evident that Schober's monograph is an important contribution, thoroughly considered and substantial. The reader's first reaction, indeed, may be astonishment that any man could bring himself to give so much time and labor to such miserable sculptures as the frieze at Lagina.

F. P. JOHNSON

DIE IONISCHE SÄULE, BAUFORM ODER SYMBOL? By E. Andrae. Heft 5 of the Koldewey-Gesellschaft Studien zur Bauforschung. 67 pp., 12 collotype pls., 52 text figs. Berlin, 1933.

GREEK GEOMETRIC ART, ITS SYMBOLISM AND ITS ORIGIN. By A. Roes. 128 pp., 104 text figs. Haarlem, and Oxford University Press, 1933.

Indications of a new orientation in archaeological research have appeared in recent years in widely separated fields of investigation. In connection with the Rg Veda, for example, it has been realized that nearly all that can be expected from a purely philological or anthropological analysis has already been accomplished, and yet that we are still very far

from understanding what the Vedas are. Again, in the picture-puzzle game (the history of art in terms of personal style and attribution) it is beginning to be realized that something like an end is in sight, that it may not be long before we may be in a position to label all our museum specimens with as much accuracy as is attainable, and yet that when all is said and done, very little progress has been made towards the humane end of assisting the student to relive for himself the intuitions expressed in ancient art. The study of mediaeval art is still almost entirely a problem of unraveling "influences;" nevertheless, it has occurred to a few minds that it might be enlightening to inquire what values were actually attached to the art by those by and for whom it was made. And as regards contemporary art, it has been recognized again and again that its private character and the indifference of its subject matter have so effectually separated art from real living, the artist from the man, that we hardly nowadays expect to meet with the workman who is both an artist and a man.¹ Because of its fundamental unreality, the study of art has begun to be a bore.

Here and there within the last few years a disconcerting wind has stirred the dry bones, to the alarm of orthodox scholarship, which fears nothing so much as a stirring up of life amongst the relics that have been so neatly catalogued and put away in our archaeological mortuaries. It has begun to be realized that whatever may be the case with contemporary art, art in the world by and large has been thought of not as a spectacle for tired business men, but as a language for the communication of ideas; and that the shape and color of an icon, the relationships of masses in a biting aphorism, the how of what has been said, have depended not on vague and indefinable "aesthetic urges," but directly upon what was to be said. This was the mediaeval point of view, which judged the "truth" of a work of art solely according to the degree of correspondence between the work itself and its essential form as it existed in the mirror of the artist's intellect. Over against our demand for novelty stands again the mediaeval point of view, which asserts that the notion of a property in ideas represents a contradiction in terms; and we ourselves have begun to see that while there cannot be and never has been a private property in ideas, it is only when the individual has fully possessed an idea that he can express it well and truly, that "to be properly expressed, a thing must proceed from within, moved by its form," and that, as follows, we cannot judge of any work unless we too possess its form and *raison d'être*. And although amongst us today, it is no longer true that the "play's the thing," but rather the "star," so that we buy names rather than pictures, we are forced to admit that the farther we go back towards the "primitives" (whom we affect to admire the most), the less significance can be attached to the "name," if names indeed can be found at all. We suspect that our proposal to study the *Divina Commedia* as "literature" notwithstanding that the

1. Cf. Otto Ranke, *Art and Artist*, 1932, p. 428, "Since Renaissance days, there can be no doubt that the great works of art were bought at the cost of ordinary living. Whatever our attitude towards this fact and interpretation of this fact, it is at least certain that the modern individualist must give up this kind of artistic creation if he is to live as vigorously as is apparently necessary."

author (who should know best) so plainly asserted the purely practical purpose of his work, may be a little ridiculous.

In other words, it has begun to be realized that problems of composition and color cannot be understood if we abstract them from their determining reasons, viz. the meanings or content to be expressed. To study the forms of art in and for themselves alone, and not in connection with the determining ends in relation to which they functioned as means, is simply to indulge in a parlor game of arranging mental bric-a-brac. The "history of design," for example, remains an absolutely sterile exercise when abstracted from the intellectual life that can alone explain and account for the facts of design. If we are satisfied only with the facts, and our "reactions" to them, it is because we have come to think of art solely in terms of upholstery ("decoration"); but it is, to say the least, a naive and unscientific procedure to carry over any such bias into a discipline that deals with the arts of other and less sentimental ages than our own. If anyone doubts the sentimentality of our modern approach to works of art, it will suffice to cite the recent dictum of a professor of the history of art in the University of Chicago, "It is inevitable that the artist should be unintelligible because his sensitive nature, inspired by fascination, bewilderment, and excitement expresses itself in the profound and intuitive terms of ineffable wonder."² The mediaeval or Asiatic patron of art would have regarded the workman who thus "babbled of green fields" as a simple idiot.

The new tendency of which we spoke above finds a clear and definite expression in Andrae's work, which treats of the Ionic capital and the development of the volute form. Much of the book is occupied with a strictly archaeological investigation of the prototypes, the Western Asiatic origin of which, before the motif is adopted into Greek art as an "architectural form," is definitely established.³ The whole life of the motif belongs to this prehistory, the form itself as it occurs in Greek art being, however elegant, already dead; as it occurs in modern pseudo-Greek, viz. in contemporary public building, it is not merely dead but actually offensive. We ourselves have often shown that the same applies to classical "egg and dart," which is really a lotus petal form (standing for the chthonic basis of existence, and retaining this significance in Indian art until the present day) which, entering into the Greek repertoire (probably by the same route as the Ionic capital itself) became there

a mere "ornament," and has survived as such in European architectural upholstery until now.

More specifically, Andrae traces the prehistory of the volute capital in its two parallel courses: on the one hand, in use as a constructive element in architecture, and on the other, in its hieroglyphic aspect. In architecture we meet first with a simple reed bundle, the top of which is soon bent over to form a spiral "head," and then to this there is added a "sheaf;" two such forms function as gate-posts, a joining up of the "sheaves" forming a lintel or architrave; a repetition of the form then establishing the use of the proto-Ionic column in colonnades, alike in Greek and Achaemenid art. Side by side with this development runs the use of the motif as a symbol in script and iconography; first of all the paired uprights of the gateway are united so as to represent "a combination of the polar, viz. male and female, elements of human nature" (corresponding to the *principium conjunctivum* whence the generation and nativity of the Exemplar, St. Thomas, *Sum. Theol.*, I, q. 27, a. 2 c, and to the Indian *ardhānarī* concept in all its ramifications); then the volutes are doubled or trebled, and finally surmounted by a single terminal circle, four distinct levels of reference being thus represented; then this terminal circle breaks into a flower ("palmette") which opens below and towards the winged image of the Supernal Sun that is shown as poised in the zenith above it; and in this last form, it is clearly seen that the volute pillar and the Assyrian Tree of Life with its symbols of Heaven above and Earth below, are cognate in form and coincident in reference. It is very certain that developments such as this are not to be explained away by the artist's "sensitive nature" or any blind "aesthetic urge," but rather that, as the Scholastic aesthetic expresses it, it is by the power of his intellect and will that the artist becomes the cause of the becoming of things made by art; the artist (whether individual or race) "operating by a word conceived in his intellect (*per verbum in intellectu conceptum*) and moved by the direction of his will towards the specific object to be made" (St. Thomas, *ibid.*, I, q. 45, a. 6 c).

Thus, as indicated in the preface, the intention of the book is not so much to assemble the facts (which is done with all requisite learning, as might be expected from so accomplished an archaeologist as Andrae, already well known for his work in the Assyrian field) as to find a clew to their significance, without which they must remain no more than a collection of data, connected only by an observed time sequence, rather than by any inherent logic. It is in the conclusion that Andrae expounds more fully the requisite approach, and it is indeed remarkable with what insight he has there set forth the idea of the symbol as a living thing, having a power in itself that can survive no matter what vicissitudes; the notion is indeed familiar enough in metaphysical exegesis, but never before, so far as we know, has it been so uncompromisingly set down by a professional archaeologist. As case in point, we might take that of the Stem of Jesse, a motif already found and used intelligibly in the *Rg Veda*, and surviving in Indian ornament and iconography up till now, but first appearing in Christian art only in the eleventh century, where we need not necessarily assume an Indian origin, but rather regard its appearing as if

2. E. F. Rothschild, *The Meaning of Unintelligibility in Modern Art*, University of Chicago Press, 1934.

3. It is now realized that the origins of Greek science of which the heroic age was up to the middle of the fifth century B. C., are likewise of Western Asiatic origin; see Abel Rey, *La Jeunesse de la Science Grecque*, Paris, 1933, and review by Sarton in *Isis*. The Western Asiatic sources of Greek mythology are also becoming more apparent, Frankfort, for example, regarding the Oriental origins of Heracles as beyond possibility of doubt (*Iraq Excavations of the Oriental Institute*, 1932/33, Chicago, 1934, p. 55); cf. Hopkins, *Assyrian Elements in the Perseus-Gorgon Story*, in *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXXVIII (1934), pp. 341-358. If the same is not admitted for philosophy (see Th. Hopfner, *Orient und griechische Philosophie*, Leipzig, 1925) it is mainly because the nature of early Oriental "philosophy" has been misunderstood; a different conclusion may be expected when the problem is posed not with respect to systematic philosophy in the modern sense, but with reference to the beginnings of Greek metaphysics.

spontaneously; the fact being in such cases that the actual connections by which a motif may be transmitted across great intervals of time or space can never become the subject of historical demonstration, for the simple reason that the transmission is accomplished by oral and not by published means. Let us cite the author's thesis in his own words:

"Humanity.... attempts to embody in a tangible or otherwise perceptible form, we may say to materialize, what is in itself intangible and imperceptible. It makes symbols, written characters, and cult images of earthly substance, and sees in and through them the spiritual and divine substance that has no likeness and could not otherwise be seen.It is only when one has acquired the habit of this way of looking at things that symbols and images can be understood; not when we are habituated to the narrower way which always brings us back to an investigation of the outward and formal aspects of symbols and images and makes us value them the more, the more complicated or fully evolved they are. This formalistic method leads always into a vacuum. Here we are dealing only with the end, not with the beginning, and what we find in this end is always something hard and opaque, which throws no further light on the path. And it is only by such a glimpse of the spiritual that the ultimate goal can be reached, whatever means or methods of research may be resorted to. When we sound the archetype, then we find that it is anchored in the highest, not the lowest.⁴ This does not mean that we moderns must needs lose ourselves in irrelevant speculation, for everyone of us can experience microcosmically in his own life and body the fact that he has wandered from the highest and that the *longer* he learns to feel a hunger and thirst for symbol and likeness, the more *deeply* he feels it; that is, if he only retains the power to guard himself against the inner hardening and petrification, in which we all, alas, are in danger of being lost.

"The formalistic method can indeed only be justified in proportion as we move away from the archetypes to the present day. The sensible forms, in which there was once a polar balance of physical and metaphysical, have been more and more emptied of content on their way down to us. So we say, this is an "ornament;" and as such it can, indeed, be treated and investigated in the formalistic manner. And this is what has constantly happened as regards all traditional ornament, not excepting the "ornament" so-called that is represented in the beautiful pattern of the Ionic capital.... He for whom this concept of the origin of ornament seems strange, should study for once the representations of the whole fourth and third millennia B. C. in Egypt and Mesopotamia, contrasting them with such "ornaments" as are properly so called in our modern sense. It will be found that scarcely even a single example can be found there. Whatever may seem to be such, is a drastically indispensable technical form, or it is an expressive form, the picture of a spiritual truth. Even the so-called ornament of the pottery painting and engraving that ranges back to the neolithic period

in Mesopotamia and elsewhere is for the most part controlled by technical and symbolic necessity....⁵

"He who marvels that a formal symbol can remain alive, not only for millennia, but that, as we shall yet learn, it can spring into life again after an interruption of thousands of years, should remind himself that the power from the spiritual world, which forms one part of the symbol, is eternal; [and that only] the other part is material, earthly, and impermanent.... It becomes then, an indifferent problem whether the ancients, in our case the early Ionians, were aware of the whole content of the ancient symbol of humanity which the East had bestowed upon them, or whether or not they wanted to carry over only some part of that content into their formula....

"From that moment when the deep symbolic meaning of the Ionic column was forgotten, when it was changed into architecture and art, its truthfulness was at an end.... was the Ionic column therefore dead, because its living meaning had been lost, because it was denied that it was the image of a spiritual truth? I think not.... Someday humanity, hungry for a concise and integral expression of itself will again take hold of this inviolate and holy form, and therewith attain to those powers of which it is in need, to the biunity and its own superstructure, to the perfecting of the all-too-earthly in the freedom of the spiritual worlds....

"What is the significance for our day of all the investigations of the noble forms of antiquity and of all their identification in our museums, if not as guides, indispensable to life, on the road through ourselves and onward into the future?... Again the call is uttered to formative men in general and the creative artist in particular: Maintain the transparency of the material, that it may be saturated with the spirit. He can obey this command only if he maintains his own transparency—and this is the rock on which most of us are apt to break. Each and everyone reaches a point in his life when he begins to stiffen, and—either congeals in fact, or must by a superhuman effort recover for himself what he possessed undiminished in his childhood but has been more and more taken away from him in youth: so that the doors of the spiritual world may open to him, and the spirit find its way into body and soul."

The work of Roes, in which a greater variety of symbols is discussed, runs singularly parallel to that of Andrae. The symbols of Greek geometric art are of western Asiatic origin and mainly solar significance, and are explained in the light of their Persian analogues (Indian sources might also have been adduced). Those principally dealt with are the double axe, swastika, bird (cock), *fascies*, sun-horse, and addorsed animals such as are seen, above the volutes, on the Achaemenid columns of Persepolis. Where the "bundle of twigs" (Roman *fascies*) is discussed (pp. 75-77) the conclusions are identical with Andrae's: thus, the Persian "bundle was called *baresman*, and it consisted of the stems of

4. Cf. René Guénon, *Du prétendu "Empirisme" des Ancients*, in *Le Voile d'Isis*, no. 175, 1934.

5. Cf. Jung, *Modern Man in Search of a Soul*, p. 189, "the so-called sun-wheel.... as it dates from a time when no one had thought of wheels as a mechanical device.... cannot have had its source in any experience of the external world. It is rather a symbol that stands for a psychic happening; it covers an experience of the inner world, and is no doubt as lifelike a representation as the famous rhinoceros with the tick-birds on its back."

different plants, which taken together symbolised the vegetable life on earth, and at the same time stood for law and order.... analogous to the *fascis cum securibus*, only its original significance was not so soon misunderstood;" cf. Andrae, pp. 53-55, who points out that the binding of the truss represents the first act of the human will (*erster menschlichen Willensakt*), and it, the *Ringbündel* or *Büschel*, "is an act of the will, effecting a control of the chaotic and unordered vegetative growth."

As regards the addorsed animals. "It needs hardly any argument to prove that the form of the capitals was not chosen for its decorative value, great as this became under the hands of the Persian artists, but for the symbolic value of the bulls; every column in those Achaemenid palaces was an emblem of the sungod to which the king of kings might look up.... the symbol was remarkably tenacious of life." As regards the Kameiros bronzes, showing addorsed heads of bulls or goats supported by a column have already been connected with the Sun by Cook (*Zeus*, I, p. 331) and more specifically correlated by Dumont with the Vedic designation of the Sun as Aja Ekapād the "One-footed goat" ("The Indic God Aja Ekapād," *JAOS.*, 53, p. 333).

Finally, as regards the derivation of Greek geometric motifs from proto-Elamite art, and as to her method generally, the author concludes "the principal objection is of course the large gap between proto-Elamitic and Greek geometric art. A period of more than two thousand years seems very long, yet ornamental motives can easily survive it.... Whatever we believe the relation between Greek and Persian art to have been, there is no denying that these are still the same motives, which lived on for at least two thousand years.... So that although we cannot deny that much still requires to be explained, neither the length of time nor the origin of the motives can be said to make the connection impossible; on the contrary, Persia always proves to be the country that knows best how to keep its ancient traditions.⁶Finally, there is a reproach made to me from two quarters, which deserves a few words, because it shows a rather dangerous tendency of the present day. According to those critics I should have dwelled at length upon the style⁷ of geometric art in order to get a clear view of its origin, and treated it 'psychologically.' One of them even doubted whether I had any sense of style because I had not done so. As to the latter charge, I shall let my drawings answer for me; if I made them without love or understanding for the various styles they represent, they are sure to denounce me. But about the former I will make some remarks.

6. Here again India might have been cited to great advantage; where the motifs of folk art surviving at the present day are such as can only be explained in the light of the symbolism of the *Rg Veda*.

7. We have constantly asserted, and this is also what we have referred to here as belonging to a new point of view in archaeology and criticism, that the essence of art is not to be found in the accidents of style, but in the formal aspect, the iconography itself: cf. Jung, *Modern Man in Search of a Soul*, pp. 194-199, "The personal aspect is a limitation—and even a sin—in the realm of art.... The secret of artistic creation and of the effectiveness of art is to be found in a return.... to that level of experience at which it is man who lives, and not the individual.... the personal life of the poet cannot be held essential to his art—but at most a help or hindrance to his creative task.... His personal career may be inevitable and interesting, but it does not explain the poet."

I have come across some psychological art-criticism, and it has been a warning to me. Pages have been filled about the ideas and ideals that must have prompted artists and artisans to work as they did, and this as a rule by persons who have never made an original design in their lives. In studying artists or craftsmen of a prehistoric period, this kind of 'science' is almost certain to be futile.... the critic risks being carried away by his own ideas, and the fashions of the moment."

As we have spoken of a tendency, in archaeology, we may be permitted to allude in conclusion to some other recent works in which the meaning or inner life of formal motifs has been studied as affording the only effective clue to their "history." Mus, for example, in discussing the origin of the "Crowned Buddha" type, found it necessary to make an intensive study of Mahāyāna ontology, and in a magisterial treatment of the scheme of the Borobudur, to discuss at length the traditional metaphysics of space and the doctrine of the axis of the universe (see *Le Buddha paré...*, in *BEFEO*, 1928, and *Barabudur les Origines du Stūpa et la Transmigration essai d'Archéologie religieuse comparée*,⁸ *ibid.*, 1932). Hentzel, *Mythes et Symboles lunaires*, 1932, discusses the origins of script from a similar point of view, remarking with respect to the earliest symbols that "their meaning is always to be found in one and the same ambient of ideas, that of a cult, and that is the distant source of writing;" and when he proceeds to say "the sign may be regarded as a rendition of the idea 'to evoke the species and ensure its multiplication,'" this is of the greatest interest because of the analogy presented with the later, neo-Platonic and Scholastic, notion of the form, species, or idea as equally in nature and art the efficient cause of the becoming of the thing itself; the prehistoric symbol being in fact the picture, not immediately of the thing inferred, but rather of the idea of the thing which is its form or *raison d'être*. Or consider the *Tripitaka in Chinese, Picture Section*, ed. by Takakusu and Ono, Tokyo, 1933—, how little could we speak of a history of the art that is here so richly represented, in the sense of explanation (and is it not the function of history to "explain" events?), were not the reproductions "documented" by very lengthy extracts from the Shingon and other Buddhist texts that are their transcendent context. We ourselves have followed the same course in our forthcoming *Elements of Buddhist Symbolism*.

Those indeed who attempt to deal with the unsolved problems of archaeology by an analysis and exegesis of meanings and contexts may expect to be accused

8. Regarding this title, the author remarks in a footnote, "It goes without saying that the bearing of the present work is strictly archaeological.... Architecturally, the Barabudur is simple enough to be grasped at a first glance.... The whole difficulty, far from depending on subtle principles of construction, depends, on the contrary, upon the fact that there is no way of making use of these principles in interpretation. The ordering of the parts is determined by abstract ideas and has magical ends in view, and these which are the essential theme of our investigation, are foreign to the actual technique of building. We ought rather to say that these ideas and ends are the context of (*contournent*) and surpass it (*l'éclatent*), and this is no exaggeration, for the design remains unintelligible to whomever has not studied the Mahāyāna texts where the explanations of its peculiarities can be found."

"*L'éclatent*" in the foregoing passage corresponds exactly to *s'asconde* in Dante, *Inferno*, IX, 62 and *varjitam* in *Laṅkāvatāra Sūtra*, II, 118.

of "reading into" their material meanings that are not "in it." They will reply that the archaeologist or philologist who is not also a metaphysician must inevitably, sooner or later, find himself before a blank wall, which he cannot penetrate; and as Ogden and Richards have so well expressed it, that "Symbols cannot be studied apart from the references which they symbolise." A word of warning may be uttered here: the study of symbolism has been discredited, precisely because working from a profane point of view, the interpretation of symbols by guess work has become a *métier* of the pseudo-archaeologist. Let us rather recognize, that as Male so well expressed it in connection with Christian art, symbolism is a *calculus*; the scholar in this field needs be rather a mathematician than an aesthete, nor can his equations be expounded without the most exact and far-reaching documentations, for which an acquaintance with the most widely diversified forms of the common symbolic tradition may be required.

If, now, archaeology has been regarded as a dry-as-dust science, and the museum as a mausoleum (and these are feelings widely diffused amongst the younger students of the history of art, the interest of which is often only kept alive by a substitution of the histories of artists for the history of art, or by masses of verbiage in which it is given them to understand that the appreciation of art must be rather a functional reaction than an intellectual act), what else could have been expected? What is required is an intellectual reanimation of our discipline, so that those academic courses on the history of art which are now closed systems of rhetoric may be informed with a human value and significance, and that the student may be given, over and above the mechanical tasks that are prerequisite to scholarship, but are not the last end of scholarship, a sense of living forces operating in the materials before him, and may realize that the true end of scholarship is not attained with information, but must be accomplished within himself, in a reintegration of himself in modes of rhythm. This was precisely the purpose of those ancient initiations and mysteries with which there originated all those symbolic forms of art which still survive in "design" and "ornament," but are no longer for us supports of contemplation and means of regeneration, but only the frills and furbelows of comfortable living.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY

DIE ARCHITEKTUR BORROMINIS. By Hans Sedlmayr. 162 pp., 75 figs. Berlin, Frankfurter Verlags-Anstalt, 1930.

Sedlmayr presents this study of Borromini's architecture as an example of a new method in art history. It is a method borrowed from science, and in particular from psychology. First, Sedlmayr attempts to establish the "correct mental set." He suggests that the correct mental set can be assumed to have been achieved when all the known facts are accounted for, when nothing seems accidental, and when hitherto unexplained phenomena receive an explanation. This is a *sine qua non* of an acceptable theory, but it in no way solves the problem of mental set. For instance, in analyzing Borromini's churches, Sedlmayr concludes that they are filled with a "lifeless grey

light," but Hempel finds that the churches have a warm and pleasant light. Obviously, Hempel and Sedlmayr had two different mental sets. Both desired to be objective and use all the available material, but the selection of this material was determined to a great extent by mental sets.

In order to present an acceptable theory, or, indeed, to formulate any theory at all, Sedlmayr quite correctly states that it is first necessary to pose and solve crucial questions. He asks four questions about Borromini's architecture. 1, What rôle does it play in art history? 2, What does it reveal of the architect's personality? 3, What does it indicate of the spirit of the culture (*Zeitgeist*) from which it arose? 4, What are the basic facts of this architecture? This last question is, to Sedlmayr, the most significant. It will be noticed that in these four questions Sedlmayr uses the isolated monuments as the "known" from which he deduces the psychological and historical "unknown." Such obvious questions as what purposes did the buildings serve, or, for whom were they built, are not considered. It is a serious fault; for it makes it possible for Sedlmayr to consider the architecture in the abstract, without any reference to the real world, and hence facilitates the formulation of his theory that this architecture was created for a "half real empire of pure form."

According to Sedlmayr, Borromini constructed his churches of units, or atoms, which were derived from late antique architecture. Each unit is composed of three segments, or faces. The façade of S. Carlo alle Quattro Fontane (San Carlino), which has three curves in the ground plan, is an example of such a unit. Structures which do not employ such a method are dismissed by Sedlmayr as structures subordinated to purpose regardless of artistic merit. With the use of these units, Sedlmayr finds that Borromini created an architecture which cannot possibly be called organic, but which merely has the animation of a complicated geometrical pattern. Yet this architecture has been found organic, not only by Frey and Hempel, but even by those contemporary French critics who called the structures bizarre. Sedlmayr states that the architecture is only apparently organic, and this appearance he explains as the result of the use of "double structure."

Double structure is a term employed by the Gestalt School of psychology. According to the psychologists of this school, all meaningful seeing is in patterns. The pattern is seen against a background and has "thing" character, while the background is neutral. In a given field of vision more than one pattern may exist, but only one can be perceived at a given moment. Sedlmayr finds that there are two patterns coexisting in Borromini's churches. He illustrates this duality most fully in San Carlino, which he considers the most perfect expression of Borromini's purpose. This church is composed of two wide ovoid side chapels, a semicircular apse, and a semicircular entrance bay with short diagonal walls between them. The resultant effect is that of a scalloped diamond, or, as Sedlmayr prefers to describe it, of a rectangle with the corners cut off. According to Sedlmayr, the first pattern consists of the side chapels, the apse, and the entrance bay; this leaves the four diagonal walls with their doors to the various offices as a neutral background. Each chapel wall is divided into a

middle section and two side sections by the use of pillars, and is thus one of the units with which Borromini supposedly built the church. The second pattern, whose formation opposes the first pattern, consists of units made up from the formerly neutral diagonal walls as the central section, plus the same side sections which were formerly integrated in the chapels, while the middle sections of the chapels, the apse, and the door bay become neutral background. For convenience we may call one church pattern, the chapel-church, and the other pattern the door-church. The rotary effect caused when the attention shifts from the chapel-church to the door-church gives San Carlino that liveliness, which, according to Sedlmayr, has been wrongly interpreted as organic character.

However, it is well known that one pattern of the possible patterns in a given field may be so compelling that it is difficult, if not impossible, to see the others. For instance, it is difficult to perceive the form of the Mediterranean on the map because the pattern of Europe is so much more compelling. The first pattern which Sedlmayr suggests for San Carlino seems probable, it contains one of the most essential elements of a church, the altars; but it would be very difficult for the observer to perceive the second church which contains no altars, and is composed only of doors!

Sedlmayr never appreciates San Carlino as a church, as a building in which people congregate and worship. He never considers that this, too, is a building of purpose, and that Borromini might have been interested in solving the problem of the church, not in drawing complicated geometrical designs. And, naturally, he does not consider whether the problem of the church was changed because of the different ecclesiastical concepts of the Jesuits. It is known, for instance, that the Jesuit general, St. Francis Borgia, asked Vignola to build a church with a single nave so that the congregation could have an unobstructed view of the high altar. The architects for the Jesuits had the new problem of building a monumental church of only one nave. Formerly only poorer churches were built with one nave. (The circular churches were monumental, but unsatisfactory as churches, because if the altar were placed at the obvious focal point, the center of the building, half the audience would be behind it, instead of before it.) Borromini's church of San Carlino is an excellent solution of the problem. It is very well planned for cult purposes, and it is monumental in spite of its small size and the small amount of money at the disposal of the architect.

Though Sedlmayr knows about mental set, he fails to employ it properly. When an individual goes to church, he has the mental set of a place of worship, and those features of a church which are concerned with worship will assert themselves. Sedlmayr has looked upon the church as abstract architecture, and consequently it has been possible for him to give equal value to the door bays and the altars. But it is unlikely that the pious Borromini had such an attitude.

A careful analysis of the church reveals that Borromini did not plan a "double-structure" church. The independence of the chapels can be immediately perceived by the observer. Borromini emphasized

this independence by vaulting them as separate units. But the same is not true for the door units. First, they have no purpose to serve as units. The door wall, without the side panels, is a complete unit in itself. Second, there is no architectural framework uniting these walls. And third, it is difficult to form the door unit, because the side walls, which are supposedly common to both the chapels and the door units, are too firmly knit into the chapel by means of the architrave of the chapel.

It is not by trying to overcome the effects of mental set, as in Sedlmayr's attempt at a solution, but rather by a recognition of mental sets that a scientific history of art can be written. The task (*Aufgabe*) determines (according to the findings of psychology) in great part the mental set. Borromini's task was to build a church suitable for the Jesuits. Sedlmayr's theory of Borromini's architecture is necessarily inadequate, because he has limited himself to a study of the architecture divorced from its social context.

FLORENCE DIAMOND

PALMA VECCHIO. By A. Spahn. Leipzig, Hiersemann, 1932.

It is hard to decide whether it is better to criticize a first production without taking this circumstance into account or whether it should condition the criticism, especially in the case of a doctor's dissertation. This monograph, however, is so conspicuously a first book written during student years that one can not and should not ignore the fact. It has the merits of such work: great care and exactness in the descriptions, patient attention to details, and especially conscientious citation. The last, to be sure, is prejudicial to the readability of the book. The 569 notes are an intolerable burden for the 104 pages of text, particularly in view of their position at the back; 569 times must the reader turn to the back, where in many cases he finds only the author and *locus* of some well-chosen and therefore quoted epithet. For almost every picture there is a table in the notes which gives the various attributions, which read, however, almost always "Palma," for there is no great confusion about his pictures, such as there is about Giorgione's, for example. The beginner is revealed somewhat in the overvaluation of the artist in dealing with the attributions. It is very welcome for the author to sympathize with her artist and make the latter appear in the best light, but that sort of thing can be carried too far. Palma is an artist of unusually clean-cut character, easy to recognize—which always contributes to popularity—and he is to the highest degree just what amateurs and collectors demand of an artist beyond his artistic qualities, what is conveyed by the English word *pleasant*.

The consideration *in extenso* of the certain pictures, grouped in five periods, is intended to establish their chronological sequence. In the case of Palma it is impossible for such an undertaking to be wholly successful, but the results are largely convincing and provide a scaffolding for getting at Palma's development. The difficulty is that Palma often went back to an already tested composition when he had a similar problem again. When he had a new task that demanded it he devised a type of picture new for

him; that is, he usually took a look at what Titian had done when confronted by such a problem. It seems to me quite superfluous to look farther away for Palma's models, as Spahn has done in the case of the Dresden Madonna (fig. 16), where she feels reminded more "of Leonardo than of Giorgione." But this picture of Palma's presupposes Titian's Santa Conversazione in Madrid (which Hetzer denies to Titian quite unreasonably as the picture is well documented). Likewise Palma's Schiava of the Barberini collection presupposes the corresponding picture in the Cook collection, whether the latter be attributed to Giorgione or Titian. Palma did not have to go afield seeking inspiration; it pressed upon him in Venice itself. Witness the St. Barbara in S. Maria Formosa, which can only be dated loosely 1510-1520, the Entombment in Brussels, the Two Nymphs in Frankfurt a/M. with their obvious dependence on Titian, and the whole series of Palma's female half figures, that descend from Titian's Flora. That this last relationship should be the reverse, as Spahn says (p. 41), strikes me as impossible in spite of the authority of Bercken, Gronau, and Crowe and Cavalcaselle (n. 219).

In a brief, final chapter on Palma's place in Venetian painting Spahn has tried to make clear Palma's artistic personality by comparison with his contemporaries, perhaps without complete success. The vague statement that Palma was an influence on the art of subsequent centuries needs some sort of illustration, as the thesis has not hitherto been developed. But just, and significant for the understanding of Palma's painting, is the observation (p. 26) that he did not succeed in "breathing a soul" into his work. In fact, he never succeeded in doing that; probably he did not feel the lack and did not try.

The Morellian method seems to have proved a source of frequent error to the author in her conception of Palma's *œuvre*. She is so precisely Morellian that she attributes only 64 pictures to Palma (though Morelli's choice was not the same). That the once desirable hypercriticism of Morelli is now a thing of the past goes without saying, and its exaggeration in judging the artistic handwriting of Palma is unjustified. To credit Palma with a workshop (such as Giovanni Bellini had in old age) that simply put his name on its pictures is a perilous and unsupported hypothesis. Moreover, how would that explain such a picture as the Madonna in Berlin with the cartellino bearing Palma's name and yet with the incontestable earmarks of the beginning of the century? The picture is perhaps our earliest Palma. In any event, the author has no justification for doubt in this plain case. Nor has she in the case of Palma's Assunta in the Venice Academy, where not even the collaboration of an assistant need be assumed. The Feldmann (Brünn) drawing published by Suida (*Belvedere*, 1931, pt. 2, fig. 71/2) must be by Palma because of its connection with the Uffizi Raising of Lazarus, which Spahn is alone in denying to Palma. The other drawing of Resting Peasants that Suida has published at the same time (pl. 66/1) seems to me not Palma's but Jacopo Bassano's at the period of his early pictures for the Palazzo Pubblico in Bassano. It is unnecessary to discuss all the Palmas in public collections that Spahn rejects, as her own tables with others' attributions to Palma speak plainly enough, but something may be said of three pictures

in Vienna which Spahn discards without having seen them. The St. Francis of the Bloch collection (Suida, *loc. cit.*, fig. 68/2) agrees in style and period with the altarpiece at Serina, the Presentation of the Virgin. The Two Figures of the Arens collection is one of Palma's most characteristic and beautiful works, and undoubtedly near in date to the Three Sisters in Dresden, i. e. of about 1524. Finally, as to the Bath of Diana recently transferred from the Hofburg to the Kunsthistorisches Museum, we have here the most vigorous and concentrated revelation of Palma's worldly art, of his superlatively pleasing way of depicting handsome women and glorious landscape, and of his limitations, which excluded both the lofty or soulful and the passionate or temperamental.

LILI FRÖHLICH-BUM

EARLY MUSLIM ARCHITECTURE. Umayyads, Early 'Abbāsids and Tūlūnids. By K. A. C. Creswell, Part I: *Umayyads, A. D. 622-750, with a contribution on the Mosaics of the Dome of the Rock and of the Great Mosque of Damascus*, by Marguerite van Berchem. xxv, 414 pp., with 419 ills. in the text and 81 collotype pls. Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1932. \$100.

With the publication of Captain Creswell's gigantic book, the study of early Islamic architecture has acquired a solid material base comparable to that of classical archaeology. The book is announced as the first volume preliminary to a larger work on the Muslim architecture of Egypt, but it is much more than an introduction to another work. It is in itself the most complete book that has appeared on Umayyad building and is an imposing monument of archaeological scruples and a tenacious ideal of exact description. If the publication was so long delayed, it was for the sake of a thoroughness and a precision that would ensure the permanent authority of the work, and for which we can only be thankful to the author. He has entrusted to other scholars the analysis of materials, like mosaics and painting, that lie outside his immediate interest. Mlle. van Berchem has written the chapters on the mosaics of Jerusalem and Damascus, Drs. Saxl and Beer have studied the astronomical content of the paintings of Kuseir Amra.

The illustrations alone would be enough to give the book a preëminence in the literature on Islamic art. They include excellent measured drawings and photographs of buildings, plastic details and mosaics, of which some are reproduced for the first time. Here the student will find the first available photographs of the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock and of the ornamented metal-work of the tie rods of the same building (see the cover design of this magazine); reproductions of the mosaics of Damascus, and a complete record of Mshatta, including portions destroyed prior to Strzykowski's monograph (1904). The book therefore brings important additions to our material knowledge of the monuments.

It is also valuable for its richly detailed collection of Arabic, Persian, Latin, and Greek texts pertaining to the buildings, and for the bibliographies, sometimes going back as far as the Renaissance, of printed literature on every building discussed. Thus, the entire available literature on Umayyad architecture

and mosaics is presented in this work. In several chapters, as on Mshatta, Damascus, and the Dome of the Rock, Captain Creswell summarizes all opinions, no matter how trivial, and in the case of Mshatta tabulates them once more. This excessive scruple in the enumeration of past errors is a forgivable pedantry in a book that sells for \$ 100 in America; but it appears a little exaggerated when the author lists in a footnote sixteen references to the history of the invention and use of gunpowder *a propos* of the possibility that the Kaaba might have been destroyed by this familiar substance. And in another place sixteen earthquakes are listed in the text to disprove the theory that an earthquake might have damaged the church of Damascus. We would much rather he had given us one, let alone sixteen, references in support of his cryptically undocumented statement with regard to systems of proportions: "it is well-known that craft secrets were only imparted under vows of secrecy."

Happily, the author has applied the same scruples to the description of the buildings, and as a result of his minute search and careful evaluation of details he has succeeded in solving a number of difficult problems. He has shown beyond doubt that the Dome of the Rock is no Byzantine construction, but an Umayyad work of about 692, that the great mosque of Damascus, which has been considered a transformed church or even a pagan temple of the fourth century, is also an early Umayyad creation, and, finally, that the palace of Mshatta was built about 740 A. D. for an Umayyad ruler. Those who are occupied with early Muslim and Christian architecture will recognize the crucial importance of a correct dating of these three monuments. I cannot present here the author's grounds for his new conclusions; they are rigorously deduced from abundant evidence, and will, I believe, be accepted by most scholars. In Mshatta he reports the discovery of what appears to be a mihrab niche overlooked by earlier writers,¹ a niche which differs from similar niches in Kasr-at-Tuba in the reveals for engaged columns. This mihrab is not an addition to the original structure, since the building was never completed, and since the construction of the niche does not break bond with the adjoining walls. But the dating of Mshatta does not depend on this detail alone. It is inferred also from the forms of the pointed arches, the vaults, the plan, and especially from the history of the region.

On every relevant detail, in the investigation of these buildings, Captain Creswell has pursued comparative studies. He has listed all known examples up to the tenth or eleventh century, and by a chronological and typological tabulation has achieved a clearer view of the origin and diffusion of various elements. He has included such typological monographs on the horseshoe and pointed arches, tracing

the development of the span and the separation of the centers in the latter, on the pendentive, on various types of plan and vaulting, on the rectangular minaret, on transverse arches, and many other elements of early Muslim building. As a result of these investigations he has been able to show the preponderance of native Syrian tradition in early Umayyad architecture.

But this very reliance on purely analytic, statistical methods is responsible for a serious defect of this solid volume. Captain Creswell imagines that a building is simply the sum of certain easily isolated elements—walls, piers, vaults and the applied decoration—and that it has been adequately described when its parts have been correctly enumerated and measured. But the building as an architectural, aesthetic object is constituted also by its formal relations, the qualities of its massing, silhouettes, spaces, surfaces, internal ordering and rhythms; and no description can be considered adequate which fails to indicate the relation of the character of the parts to the perceptible qualities of the whole. It cannot be urged that the purpose of the book is archaeological and hence excludes such formulations, since the author's concern with a purely analytic classification of parts reflects an attitude toward architecture as an art and assumptions concerning its nature which do actually affect his archaeological conclusions. For only from such a viewpoint could one compute as Captain Creswell does—more than once in this volume that a given building is 55% Syrian, 22% Roman and 22% Byzantine, on the basis of a tabulation of elements from these various styles. This method is not only crude in analysis, but is illogically applied; it is inferred that a given element is Roman on the strength of a single Roman example. Yet Captain Creswell could say of the building in question (the Dome of the Rock) that it "is a thoroughly Syrian building with Byzantine mosaic decoration" (p. 94). By a similar method he is led to the unjustified conclusion that the decoration of the façade of Mshatta is the work of Coptic artisans because he has found two of its elements in late Coptic art, but nowhere else. (The mouldings of the same sculptured surfaces he attributes to the art of Northwestern Mesopotamia). He overlooks that the contemporary lintel of Kasr-at-Tuba, which is closer in style to Mshatta than any Coptic work, shows neither of these decisive diagnostic details. The resemblances to the ornament of Persia, Mesopotamia, and Iraq are hardly investigated.²

Despite the immense erudition of the author and his personal and devoted inspection of every building in question, he has not succeeded in formulating a valid general statement concerning the aesthetic characters of the monuments. On the contrary, his hard-headed, empirical, archaeological method has evaporated into a mystical doctrine when he has undertaken to speak of the "beauty" of a building. After having confirmed by admirable scruple in measurement the simple geometrical layout of the Dome of the Rock and after having shown that this method of layout is typical of Syrian buildings and could even help us today is restoring Syrian churches

1. Overlooked by earlier writers, if we are to judge by Capt. Creswell's apparently complete and detailed *résumé* of the literature on Mshatta. But, for some reason, he has seen fit to ignore the discussions of this niche by several of the previous writers, including Schulz (1904), Brünnow (1912), and Diez (1915), even though he quotes them with regard to other aspects of Mshatta. Schulz and Brünnow had already questioned the idea that this niche could be a mihrab. Prof. Diez had accepted the niche as a mihrab in his *Kunst d. islamischen Völker* (1915, p. 6), but in his more recent article on Mshatta in the *Encyclopedia of Islam* (p. 661) he condemns this view as superficial. His reasoning is not altogether convincing.

2. The ornament of the Dome of the Rock is also unsatisfactorily treated (pp. 87, 88). It deserves a much more thorough and systematic investigation.

which survive in apparently undecipherable ruin, he concludes that this geometrical layout of the *plan* is the cause of the "beauty" of the Dome of the Rock and accounts for the "harmony" we experience within its interior. But our impression of the whole proceeds from the spatial form and from the interior and exterior elevations, which have quite other proportions than the plan; and even from the light and color, which are not susceptible to measurement. According to Captain Creswell "every part of this building is related to every other part in some definite proportion.... Some of the ratios involved, such as the square root of two, and especially that which the diameter of a circle bears to its circumference, which enters into the equation of movement of everything in space, nay, further, into the equation of movement of the very electrons of the atom itself, are *fundamentals in time and space* [Creswell's italics]; they go right down to the very basis of our own nature...." etc., etc. It should have struck the author that these two ratios do not constitute aesthetically definite proportions in the sense of finite whole numbers, that they are irrational numbers, and thus incommensurable. The fact that they appear in some physical equations is no more a guarantee that they are the source of the aesthetic effect of a building than the presence of oxygen in earth, air, fire, and water confirms the aesthetic importance of this element in the bricks of a building.

The reference to "definite proportion" is also aesthetically misleading, for if we experience an impression of "harmony" in the interior of the Dome of the Rock, we do not perceive a clear order or relations such as exist in classic buildings. The interior space is complicated to the eye and subtly irregular, rather dark and picturesquely colored, with changing vistas and perspectives between the varied intervals of the supports. An earlier writer, Mr. Richmond, provided evidence of the conscious will to achieve such effects in his accurate measurements of the intercolumniations. He found that a slight twist was given to the central ring of supports so that the two opposed columns are visible to an observer at the door. Captain Creswell, who quotes this fine observation, has made no effort to investigate the aesthetic effect or rôle of this refinement or to distinguish it from the irregularities in Greek buildings.

If he had been more interested in such aspects of the building, he would not have been satisfied then simply to derive the Dome of the Rock from Early Christian and Syrian rotundas or to declare it a Syrian work. The corresponding elements in the earlier buildings had another effect and belonged to wholes of quite different character. The central domed space of the Dome of the Rock, unlike that of any large Christian rotunda, is inaccessible. The sacred intraversable rocky ground—an essential element in the plan of the building—is closed off;³ and the full height and shape of the dome above it cannot easily be grasped because of the darkness or vagueness of the upper parts of the dome, and because of the

proportion of the extraordinarily elevated dome to the narrow aisles and the low arcaded openings through which the dome may be seen. Here, a dark and unclear or intangible center with a lighter periphery; in the Early Christian buildings, like Sta. Costanza, an illuminated and clearly formed accessible center with a relatively dark periphery. The Dome of the Rock, though an exceptional type in Islamic architecture, exhibits as early as 692 the tendencies of the characteristic grove or forest space of later Islamic mosques. Its centralized form is unique and is not to be identified aesthetically with the centralized spaces of the Early Christian buildings, which show a related but never identical plan. Captain Creswell has observed that within the concentric scheme the piers constitute a cross, which he has compared with the crosses formed in the church of the Anastasis by the piers and in Sta. Costanza⁴ by the wider intervals of the cardinal intercolumniations. But he has not seen that in Sta. Costanza the cross, formed by a pronounced variation within an otherwise regular circular colonnade, corresponds to an apsidal focus and to axially designed wall niches, whereas in the Dome of the Rock the cross follows directly from the continuous, regular geometrical layout, without reference to an orientation or axial focus in the plan, that competes with the concentric or centralized form of the whole. The plan of the Dome of the Rock is of an astonishing complexity—beyond that of any of the earlier Christian rotundas—and can be read in several ways, like a piece of intricate, unfocused, geometrical Muslim ornament. It may be grasped not only as a concentric scheme and as a cross plan, as Captain Creswell has indicated, but also as an octagonal segment of a five-aisled building, since the piers are in a regular alignment.

These qualities seem to disappear when we examine the exterior of the building. On the one hand, the interior spatial form, in its intangible, picturesque character, with the double ring of supports, dividing the space somewhat like the supports of a Gothic chevet, the wall remote from the spectator, who cannot take a significant position in the center of the building in order to grasp the space as a definite whole; on the other hand, the exterior, a clearly silhouetted, more inert mass (with the limited tension of the elevated, slightly swelling, bulbous dome), of distinct parts with unbroken, individual surfaces, easily comprehensible as a whole, culminating in the dome. A related dualism exists in Islamic metalwork and sculpture in the round in the contrast of the qualities of the mass as a whole and of the finely spun, active arabesque ornament of the surface. The coexistence of such opposite characters is a distinctive trait of Muslim art; in Gothic art, with which Muslim has been compared (cf. Brunoff, in *Der Islam*, 1928), there is an apparent accord or analogy in the treatment of volume, space, and surface.

Since the characteristics of Muslim architecture emerge for the first time in the Umayyad works which have been so carefully described and reconstructed by Captain Creswell, his failure to formulate in

3. The rock in the center of the Anastasis is not comparable aesthetically, even though the Anastasis may have given the Muslims the incentive to a construction housing a holy rock. In the Anastasis the holy sepulcher occupies the middle of the accessible, open space below the dome, whereas in the Muslim building the rock covers almost the entire ground of the domed space.

4. On p. 75, he says that this is a feature "to which attention has never yet been called." It is, however, the subject of a discussion by Schmarsow in his *Grundbegriffe der Kunstwissenschaft*, Leipzig, 1905, p. 206.

general terms the original and specific characters of Umayyad architecture is all the more regrettable. His reduction of this new art to a reassortment of various elements of the old depends on the neglect of just those aspects of the art which constitute its uniqueness or its originality. The general conclusions are a summary of the text consisting of such notions as the predominance of local Syrian art in the formation of Umayyad architecture, and the collaboration of Persian and Coptic influences. The variety of influences is attributed to the conscription of foreign laborers and artisans by the Umayyad rulers, but the significance of this practice and its social base for the character of Umayyad architecture is not investigated. We will search in vain for an allusion to more essential problems such as the reasons for the development of the architectural types in question, and the factors underlying the progressive changes from local Syrian to Umayyad types. Captain Creswell has shrewdly analyzed the part played by political rivalries in specific artistic enterprises in Islam, and he has also found in the administration of the Umayyad state and finances interesting parallels to the conditions of building. But he has not gone beyond these relationships. He has not inquired, for example, how the structure of the religious congregations without a clergy or hierarchy, affected the form of the mosque; the parallel Christian materials should have suggested the problem. Nor has he inquired into the relation of the social and economic status of the artisans and the general functions of Islamic building enterprise to the progressively inventive, yet anonymous handicraft character of the ornament. What accounts for the differing mobility of old Oriental and the more recent Oriental (Islamic) arts? The posing of these questions is essential for understanding the history of Umayyad art. Otherwise we fall too readily into mechanical theories of influences and imitation or into vague spiritualistic views, and "trivial facts." To explain the form of the mosque of Kufa, Captain Creswell tells us that the square plan was "derived in its ultimate [*sic*] analysis from a trivial fact,—the marking out of the mosque by arrow-casts." But this practice presupposes a traditional square plan as normative, a plan found in earlier Achaemenid buildings which, like the mosque of Kufa, are open on one side and have a wooden roof supported directly by columns.

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In the next paragraphs I wish to discuss certain of the conclusions drawn by Captain Creswell from his valuable tabulations of single motifs. They bear also upon the history of Early Christian and mediaeval European architecture.

1. He comes, for example, to the unexpected conclusion that the pointed arch arose in Syria in the sixth century, for the oldest dated instance is to be found in Kasr Ibn Wardan. So able a scholar as Herzfeld has questioned the pointed character of the arches in this building, but Captain Creswell has accepted the authority of Howard Crosby Butler, who had studied the arches when they were still well preserved. It does not seem to have occurred to Captain Creswell that this building is not typically Syrian, that it is built of brick, not stone, and that its plan and vaulting include foreign elements. The fact that the sub-

sequent examples of the pointed arch appear only in Islamic structures, and that some of these, like Mshatta and Kuseir Amra, are evidently foreign in character, should also have deterred him from an emphatic conclusion. Like these two buildings, Kasr Ibn Wardan is a secular structure and suggests that the pointed form was transmitted to Syria in secular rather than religious building. If it appears in the earliest mosques in Syria, it is not by way of Syrian church architecture. Where the pointed form arose, it is impossible at present to say, but of the various hypotheses, Captain Creswell gives no adequate account. The early appearance of this form in brick has suggested a Sassanian or Iraqi origin, which is supported by the ellipsoidal form of surviving Sassanian vaults and the frequency of the pointed arch in later Persian and Iraqi architecture. In *The Art Bulletin*, 1933, pp. 80, 81, Mr. Arthur Upham Pope has called attention to examples in Sassanian metalwork and also to Indian examples of far earlier date.

In a footnote Captain Creswell has discussed the subsequent diffusion of the pointed arch in the West. This note has several errors. Palermo (1132) is considered the link between Syria and Europe; the presbytery and nave of Cluny (1125-1132) and the church of Durham (which the author dates 1128-1133) are cited as the oldest Western examples. The presbytery of Cluny more probably dates from 1088-1095. It had only round arches, if we can trust the drawings, whereas the transept of Cluny shows the pointed form as early as 1108.⁵ The pointed arches of the choir of Durham date from about 1093 to 1104.⁶ But these are not the oldest Western examples. It is common knowledge that the pointed form was employed systematically in Burgundy in the second half of the eleventh century,⁷ and in other parts of France at the same time. It must be admitted, further, that the mere tabulation of dates is not by itself a sufficient clue to the history of the diffusion of a form and may be misleading.

2. The treatment of the horseshoe arch suffers from defects of method, apart from a complete neglect of stylistic problems. Captain Creswell does not ask why the semicircular classical arch should be transformed in this manner, or what relation the new shape has to the general character of late Syrian and Islamic art. He cites as the earliest dated Syrian example the destroyed arch of Dana (483), despite the evidence of earlier examples⁸ furnished by Butler, his authority for the pointed form of the arches of Kasr Ibn Wardan. Because of an inexpugnable prejudice against considering represented architectural forms as evidence of actual building types or motifs, he omits all the

5. On the dates of Cluny and its original form, see Oursel, *L'Art roman de Bourgogne*, 1928, and Professor Conant's reports of his excavation and researches in *Speculum*, 1929-1933.

6. See the study by John Bilson in *Archaeological Journal*, LXXIX, 1922, pp. 101-160.

7. Cf. Oursel, *op. cit.*, p. 141 and the work of Jean Virey on the Romanesque architecture of the Saône-et-Loire region. The argument of F. Deshoulières (*Au début de l'art roman*, pp. 146, 147) that the pointed arch and pointed barrel vault were unknown in France before the twelfth century is negative. It rests upon the absence of absolutely documented dates. But he admits that the style of some buildings with such pointed forms is of the eleventh century.

8. As, for example, the arch at Brad. See on this question the article of Prof. De Wald, *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXVI, 1922, p. 333.

horseshoe arches represented on stelae of the first to the fifth century A. D. or even sculptured on sarcophagi with clear and familiar architectural frameworks. Such arches appear on the Syrian lead sarcophagi of the second and third centuries;⁹ in the recently discovered fresco of the synagogue of Dura (about 245 A. D.) a doorway is painted in this form.¹⁰ While it is true that a represented architectural form is not necessarily faithful to actual construction, we cannot therefore suppose that all representations of architecture are necessarily fantastic. It is possible in such matters to find criteria of verity or fantasy, especially since we are acquainted with much of the material represented and the historical traditions. That certain Pompeian architectural paintings are imaginative, we know from Vitruvius (VII, 5): "Such things do not exist and cannot exist and never have existed," whereas the probable verity of the horseshoe arches represented in sculptures since the second century A. D. is confirmed by remains of constructed arches dating as far back as the third century. Captain Creswell dismisses apses of horseshoe plan as irrelevant to the problem, since they are only shapes, not true constructed arches. But this is the crux of the problem—the horseshoe arch is a "shape;" it arose and was reproduced as a shape, and not only as a constructive device. Hence, examples of the shape become relevant when they occur in the same region or culture as the constructed form.

3. It is with the same exaggerated scepticism that the author excludes from his study of the pendentive the examples from Asia Minor described by so intelligent a technician as Choisy, simply because the buildings are no longer standing or have not been studied since the time of Choisy. The scruples are justified, but Captain Creswell has not applied the same scruples in his own emphatic conclusion that the pendentive originated in Syria. Since Choisy's examples were attributed to the same period as the early Syrian versions (which were also known to Choisy), we cannot accept without reservation the arguments and tables of Captain Creswell.¹¹

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Mlle. van Berchem's long chapters on the mosaics of Jerusalem and Damascus (pp. 150-252) are conceived in the same spirit as the architectural investigations of Captain Creswell. They show a similar thorough inventory of elements and rigorous study of texts. Her conclusion that both sets of mosaics are essentially Syrian agrees with her collaborator's conclusions concerning the architecture of the buildings (though it should be said that on p. 94 Captain Creswell describes the mosaics of the Dome of the

Rock as Byzantine).¹² The attribution of the mosaics to local Syrian art is important in the face of the constant tendency of some scholars to reduce Syrian art to an amalgam of Alexandrian and Asiatic styles, and to "explain" the mosaics of Damascus as the work of imported Alexandrian or Byzantine artists. Unfortunately, Mlle. van Berchem isolates neither the broader aspects and qualities of Syrian art nor the peculiarities of this art toward 700. She is satisfied merely to list beside the foreign details those elements which appear in earlier Syrian works and prove a genealogical affiliation. She considers premature any effort to grasp the mosaics as wholes and to state their position in the larger history of Near Eastern art. The attribution of the mosaics of the Dome of the Rock to local Syrian art is based on analogies with Syrian sculptured ornament, and the Syrian character of the mosaics of Damascus is inferred from the native character of the trees and buildings represented.¹³ But to say that a work is Syrian is to imply not only that it exists in Syria or was created by artists of Syrian nationality, but that it exhibits the characteristics or qualities of a body of works localized in Syria at a certain period. Mlle. van Berchem tends, on the other hand, to give an excessive importance to the general resemblance of the mosaics of Damascus to the paintings of Pompeii and Boscoreale, which are six hundred years older. She asserts a connection between the Roman and Syrian works, forgetting that the architectural landscape as a type was not a Roman invention, but more probably was imported into Italy from the Hellenistic East.¹⁴ Such a landscape art probably existed in Syria parallel to Roman art. We can infer as much not only from the few remains of pavement mosaics, but also from the descriptions of landscape paintings in Syria by Greek writers.¹⁵ A curious text of Libanius¹⁶ on the great earnings of Antiochene artists who teach people to paint rapidly may be interpreted as an evidence of the practice of illusionistic painting in Syria in the fourth century, a practice presupposed by the illusionistic aspects of the miniatures of the Vienna Genesis.

In the absence of Syrian remains, the Roman paintings are necessarily the chief material for comparison in any historical study of works like the mosaics of Damascus. But Mlle. van Berchem approaches this comparison with academic preconceptions and tastes that blind her to essential qualities and differences. Instead of comparing the spatial structure and the forms of perspective in the Syrian

12. Captain Creswell also attributes the paintings of Kuseir Amra to native Syrian artists. He makes the important observation that they knew Arabic, but no Greek (p. 269).

13. She cites Arabic descriptions of Damascus of the tenth and twelfth centuries to confirm the local character of the landscapes and buildings represented in the mosaics, but she seems to have overlooked the resemblances to the description of Antioch in the fourth century by Libanius and to the literature on late classical gardens. See Pauly-Wissowa, *Realencyclop. d. Altertumswiss.*, XIII, pp. 779-841, and especially pp. 810-812 on Libanius. The fashion of building in the gardens reduced models of celebrated temples and other structures is interesting for the mosaics of Damascus.

14. Cf. Rostovtzev, in *Römische Mittheilungen*, 1911.

15. Cf. Achilles Tatius, chap. I; the descriptions of Christian mosaics in Gaza by Choricus; and the account of the painting of Phaedra and Hippolytus in Gaza, published in the works of Choricus, but now attributed to Procopius (see Paul Friedländer, *Johannes von Gaza*, 1912, pp. 91 ff.).

16. It is quoted by Émeric-David in his *Histoire de la Peinture au Moyen Age*, Paris, 1842, p. 14, note 1.

9. See especially the article by Arif Mufid, in the *Archäologischer Anzeiger*, XLVII, 1932, pp. 426 ff. and figs. 33, 35, 38.

10. Illustrated in the *American Journal of Archaeology*, July-September, 1933, p. 473, fig. 4.

11. Choisy (*L'Art de bâtir chez les Byzantins*) expressly distinguishes the pendentives of cut stone in Syria from the early brick and mortar pendentives of Asia Minor and asserts the historic and technical priority of the latter. The report of the German expedition to Magnesia on the Maeander (Berlin, 1904, p. 32) describes as Roman the "barracks" in which Choisy observed the pre-Byzantine pendentives, but this report gives no detailed description of the building and merely reproduces an old French plan, ignoring completely the discussion and drawings by Choisy (p. 159, fig. 175).

and Roman works—an investigation which would have been a welcome addition to the detailed inventory of elements that Mlle. van Berchem considers a sufficient description—she writes that the Roman and Pompeian landscapes “are more perfect and purer in style” than the mosaics of Damascus, and that the Greco-Roman artists “had a knowledge of the laws of perspective of which the mosaicists of Al-Walid were absolutely ignorant.” The truth is that the classical artists lacked a full knowledge of these “laws” and that the ignorance of the Syrian mosaicists was not absolute.

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I must express in conclusion my admiration for Captain Creswell's solid learning and scrupulous

accuracy and his rigorous criticism of texts and hypotheses. We await the second volume with the deepest interest.

MEYER SCHAPIRO

Note on Museo Cristiano articles, in The Art Bulletin, XVI (1934), pp. 333-357.

Monsignor Tisserant, of the Vatican Library, has kindly forwarded the following corrections:

The manuscript mentioned on page 340, line 2, as Vatican Gr. 1 is *Reginensis graecus 1*, as accurately stated in the footnote.

The wooden pyxis (cf. page 341, line 2) is on exhibition.

